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SER MARCO POLO

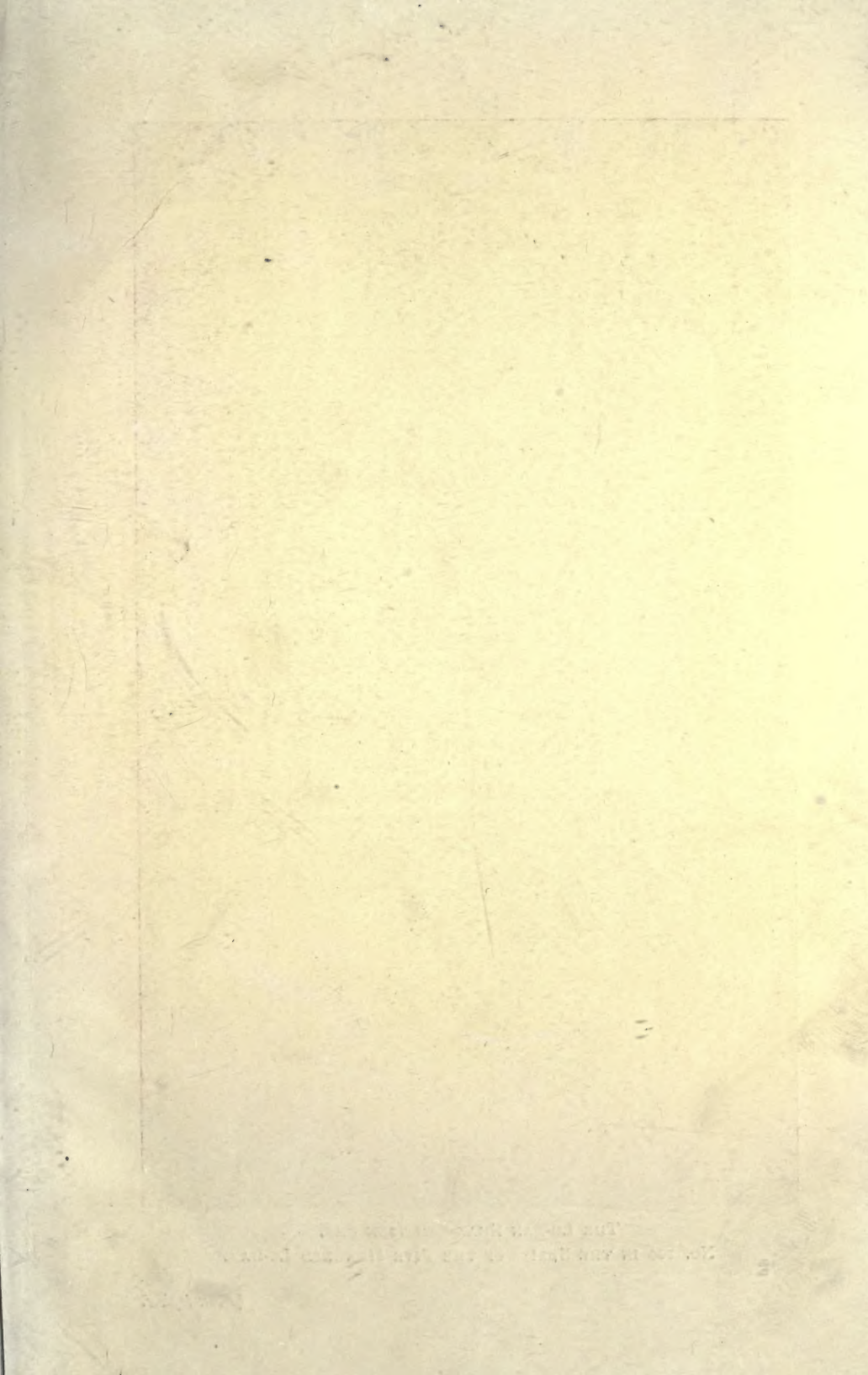
THE BOOK OF  
SER MARCO POLO  
CONCERNING THE KINGDOMS  
AND MARVELS OF THE EAST

Sir Henry Yule's Translation, revised  
throughout in the light of Recent  
Discoveries, by Professor HENRI CORDIER.  
With a Memoir of Sir Henry Yule by his  
Daughter. With Maps and Illustrations.  
In Two Volumes.

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LONDON: JOHN MURRAY





第一百善注尊者



THE LO-HAN SHAN-CHU TSUN CHE.  
NO. 100 IN THE SERIES OF THE FIVE HUNDRED LO-HAN.

[Frontispiece.]



# SER MARCO POLO

NOTES AND ADDENDA TO SIR HENRY  
YULE'S EDITION, CONTAINING THE  
RESULTS OF RECENT RESEARCH  
AND DISCOVERY

BY HENRI CORDIER

D.LITT., HON. M.R.A.S., HON. COR. M.R.G.S., HON. F.R.S.L.  
MEMBER OF THE INSTITUT DE FRANCE  
PROFESSOR AT THE ÉCOLE DES LANGUES  
ORIENTALES VIVANTES, PARIS  
EDITOR OF YULE'S "MARCO POLO."

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## PREFACE

THERE is no need of a long Preface to this small book. When the third edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo* was published in 1903, criticism was lenient to the Editor of YULE's grand work, and it was highly satisfactory to me that such competent judges as Sir Aurel STEIN and Sven HEDIN gave their approval to the remarks I made on the itineraries followed in Central Asia by the celebrated Venetian Traveller.

Nevertheless occasional remarks having been made by some of the reviewers, proper notice was taken of them; moreover, it was impossible to avoid some mistakes and omissions in a work including several hundreds of pages. As years went on, extensive voyages were undertaken by travellers like Sir Aurel STEIN, Sven HEDIN, PELLLOT, KOZLOV, and others, who brought fresh and important information. I had myself collected material from new works as they were issued and from old works which had been neglected. In the mean time I had given a second edition of *Cathay and the Way Thither*, having thus an opportunity to explore old ground again and add new commentaries to the book.

All this material is embodied in the present volume which is to be considered but as a supplementary volume of "Addenda" and "Corrigenda" to the Book itself. I have gathered matter for a younger editor when a fourth edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo* is undertaken, age preventing the present editor to entertain the hope to be able to do the work himself.

To many who lent their aid have I to give my thanks: all are named in the following pages, but I have special obligation to Sir Aurel STEIN, to Dr. B. LAUFER, of Chicago, to Sir Richard TEMPLE, and to Prof. Paul PELLLOT, of the College de France, Paris, who furnished me with some of the more important notes. A paper by Prof. E. H. PARKER in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* proved also of considerable help.

HENRI CORDIER.

PARIS, 8, RUE DE SIAM,  
11th of November, 1919.





# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SIR HENRY YULE'S WRITINGS.

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| <p>— Notes [miscellaneous] by H. Yule, Palermo, August 28th, 1872. (<i>Indian Antiquary</i>, I. 1872, pp. 320-321.)</p> <p>— "Discovery of Sanskrit." By H. Yule, Palermo, Dec. 26th, 1872. (<i>Indian Antiquary</i>, II. 1873, p. 96.)</p> <p>— "Sopeithes, King of the Kṛkeol." By H. Yule. (<i>Indian Antiquary</i>, II. 1873, p. 370.)</p> <p>— The Geography of Ibn Batuta's Travels in India. By Col. H. Yule, Palermo. (<i>Indian Antiquary</i>, III. 1874, pp. 114-117, 209-212.)</p> <p>— The Geography of Ibn Batuta's Travels. By Col. H. Yule, C.B. (<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 242-244.)</p> | <p>— Mediæval Ports of Western and Southern India, etc., named in the Tohfāt-al-Majāhidīn. By Col. H. Yule, C.B., Palermo. (<i>Indian Antiquary</i>, III. 1874, pp. 212-214.)</p> <p>— Malifattan. By Col. H. Yule, C.B., Palermo. (<i>Indian Antiquary</i>, IV. 1875, pp. 8-10.)</p> <p>— Champa. By H. Yule. (<i>Indian Antiquary</i>, VI. 1877, pp. 228-230.) From the <i>Geog. Mag.</i>, March, 1877, IV. pp. 66-67. Written for the <i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i>, but omitted.</p> <p>— Specimen of a Discursive Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms. By H. Y. and A. C. B. (<i>Indian Antiquary</i>, VIII. 1879, pp. 52-54, 83-86, 173-176, 201-204, 231-233.)</p> |
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# MARCO POLO AND HIS BOOK.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.





# MARCO POLO AND HIS BOOK.

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## INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

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Introduction, p. 6.

SPEAKING of Pashai, Sir Aurel Stein (*Geog. Journ.*), referring to the notes and memoranda brought home by the great Venetian traveller, has the following remarks: "We have seen how accurately it reproduces information about territories difficult of access at all times, and far away from his own route. It appears to me quite impossible to believe that such exact data, learned at the very beginning of the great traveller's long wanderings, could have been reproduced by him from memory alone close on thirty years later when dictating his wonderful story to Rusticiano during his captivity at Genoa. Here, anyhow, we have definite proof of the use of those 'notes and memoranda which he had brought with him,' and which, as Ramusio's 'Preface' of 1553 tells us (see Yule, *Marco Polo*, I., Introduction, p. 6), Messer Marco, while prisoner of war, was believed to have had sent to him by his father from Venice. How grateful must geographer and historical student alike feel for these precious materials having reached the illustrious prisoner safely!"

Introduction, p. 10 n.

### KHAKHAN.

"Mr. Rockhill's remarks about the title *Khakhan* require supplementing. Of course, the Turks did not use the term before 560 (552 was the exact year), because neither they nor their name 'Turk' had any self-assertive existence before then, and until that year they were the 'iron-working slaves' of the Jou-jan. The Khakhan of those last-named Tartars naturally would not allow the petty tribe of Turk to usurp his exclusive

and supreme title. But even a century and a half before this, the ruler of the T'u-kuh-hun nomads had already borne the title of Khakhan, which (the late Dr. Bretschneider agreed with me in thinking) was originally of Tungusic and not of Turkish origin. The T'u-kuh-hun were of the same race as the half-Mongol, half-Tungusic Tobas, who ruled for two centuries over North China. . . . The title of Khakhan, in various bastard forms, was during the tenth century used by the Kings of Khoten and Kuche, as well as by the petty Ouigour Kings of Kan Chou, Si Chou, etc." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, pp. 139-140.)

Introduction, p. 19. [The] second start [of the Venetians] from Acre took place about November, 1271.

M. Langlois remarks that the last stay of the Polos at Acre was necessarily before the 18th November, 1271, date of the departure of Gregory X. for the West. Cf. *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre-Sainte rédigés en français aux XI<sup>e</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, publ. par H. MICHELANT et G. RAYNAUD (Genève, 1882), pp. xxviii-xxix :

"La date de 1269, donnée seulement par un des manuscrits de la rédaction de Thibaut de Cépoï, pour le premier séjour à Acre des Polo et leur rencontre avec Tedaldo Visconti, qui allait être élu pape et prendre le nom de Grégoire X., date préférée par tous les éditeurs à celles évidemment erronées de Rusticien de Pise (1260) et des huit autres manuscrits de Thibaut de Cépoï (1250 et 1260), n'est pas hors de toute discussion. M. G. Tononi, archiprêtre de Plaisance, qui prépare une histoire et une édition des œuvres de Grégoire X., me fait remarquer que les chroniqueurs ne placent le départ de Tedaldo pour la Terre-Sainte qu'après celui de S. Louis pour Tunis (2 juillet 1270), et que, d'après un acte du *Trésor des Chartes*, Tedaldo était encore à Paris le 28 décembre 1269. Il faudrait donc probablement dater de 1271 le premier et le deuxième séjour des Polo à Acre, et les placer tous deux entre le 9 mai, époque de l'arrivée en Terre-Sainte d'Edouard d'Angleterre,—avec lequel, suivant l'*Eracles*, aborda Tedaldo—et le 18 novembre, date du départ du nouveau pape pour l'Occident." (Cf. *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXV, *Marco Polo*.)

Introduction, p. 19 n.

I have here discussed Major Sykes' theory of Polo's itinerary in Persia; the question was raised again by Major Sykes in the



*Geographical Journal*, October, 1905, pp. 462-465. I answered again, and I do not think it necessary to carry on farther this controversy. I recall that Major Sykes writes: "To conclude, I maintain that Marco Polo entered Persia near Tabriz, whence he travelled to Sultania, Kashan, Yezd, Kerman, and Hormuz. From that port, owing to the unseaworthiness of the vessels, the presence of pirates, the fact that the season was past, or for some other reason, he returned by a westerly route to Kerman, and thence crossed the Lut to Khorasan."

I replied in the *Geographical Journal*, Dec., 1905, pp. 686-687: "Baghdad, after its fall in 1258, did not cease immediately to be 'rather off the main caravan route.' I shall not refer Major Sykes to what I say in my editions of 'Odorico' and 'Polo' on the subject, but to the standard work of Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, Vol. 2, pp. 77, 78. The itinerary, Tabriz, Sultania, Kashan, Yezd, was the usual route later on, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and it was followed, among others, by Fra Odorico, of Pordenone. Marco Polo, on his way to the Far East—you must not forget that he was at Acre in 1271—could not have crossed Sultania, which *did not exist*, as its building was commenced by Arghún Khan, who ascended the throne in 1284, and was continued by Oeljaitu (1304-1316), who gave the name of Sultania to the city." Cf. Lieut.-Col. P. M. SYKES, *A History of Persia*, 1915, 2 vols., 8vo; II., p. 181 n.

Introduction, p. 21. M. Pauthier has found a record in the Chinese Annals of the Mongol dynasty, which states that in the year 1277, a certain POLO was nominated a second-class commissioner or agent attached to the Privy Council, a passage which we are happy to believe to refer to our young traveller.

Prof. E. H. Parker remarks (*Asiatic Quart. Review*, 3rd Series, Vol. XVII., Jan., 1904, pp. 128-131): "M. Pauthier has apparently overlooked other records, which make it clear that the identical individual in question had already received honours from Kúblái many years before Marco's arrival in 1275. Perhaps the best way to make this point clear would be to give all the original passages which bear upon the question. The number I give refer to the chapter and page (first half or second half of the double page) of the *Yuan Shī* :—

A. Chap. 7, p. 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ : 1270, second moon. Kúblái inspects a court pageant prepared by Puh-lo and others.

B. Chap. 7, p. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ : 1270, twelfth moon. The *yü-shī chung-ch'eng* (censor) Puh-lo made also President of the *Ta-sz-nung* department. One

of the ministers protested that there was no precedent for a censor holding this second post. Kúblái insisted.

C. Chap. 8, p. 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ : 1275, second moon. Puh-lo and another sent to look into the Customs taxation question in Tangut.

D. Chap. 8, p. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ : 1275, fourth moon. The *Ta-sz-nung* and *yü-shü chung-ch'êng* Puh-lo promoted to be *yü-shü ta-fu*.

E. Chap. 9, p. 11 $\frac{2}{3}$ : 1276, seventh moon. The Imperial Prince Puh-lo given a seal.

F. Chap. 9, p. 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ : 1277, second moon. The *Ta-sz-nung* and *yü-shü ta-fu*, Puh-lo, being also *süan-wei-shü* and Court Chamberlain, promoted to be *shu-mih fu-shü*, and also *süan-hwei-shü* and Court Chamberlain.

"The words *shu-mih fu-shü*, the Chinese characters for which are given on p. 569 of M. Cordier's second volume, precisely mean 'Second-class Commissioner attached to the Privy Council,' and hence it is clear that Pauthier was totally mistaken in supposing the censor of 1270 to have been Marco. Of course the Imperial Prince Puh-lo is not the same person as the censor, nor is it clear who the (1) pageant and (2) Tangut Puh-los were, except that neither could possibly have been Marco, who only arrived in May—the third moon—at the very earliest.

"In the first moon of 1281 some gold, silver, and bank-notes were handed to Puh-lo for the relief of the poor. In the second moon of 1282, just before the assassination of Achmed, the words 'Puh-lo the Minister' (*ch'êng-siang*) are used in connection with a case of fraud. In the seventh moon of 1282 (after the fall of Achmed) the 'Mongol man Puh-lo' was placed in charge of some gold-washings in certain towers of the then Hu Pêh (now in Hu Nan). In the ninth moon of the same year a commission was sent to take official possession of all the gold-yielding places in Yün Nan, and Puh-lo was appointed *darugachi* (= governor) of the mines. In this case it is not explicitly stated (though it would appear most likely) that the two gold superintendents were the same man; if they were, then neither could have been Marco, who certainly was no 'Mongol man.' Otherwise there would be a great temptation to identify this event with the mission to '*una città, detta Carazan*' of the Ramusio Text.

"There is, however, one man who may possibly be Marco, and that is the Poh-lo who was probably with Kúblái at Chagan Nor when the news of Achmed's murder by Wang Chu arrived there in the third moon of 1282. The Emperor at once left for Shang-tu (i.e. *K'ai-p'ing Fu*, north of Dolonor), and 'ordered the *shu-mih fu-shü* Poh-lo [with two other statesmen] to proceed with ell



speed to Ta-tu (*i.e.* to Cambalu). On receiving Poh-lo's report, the Emperor became convinced of the deceptions practised upon him by Achmed, and said: "It was a good thing that Wang Chu *did* kill him." In 1284 Achmed's successor is stated (chap. 209, p. 9½) to have recommended Poh-lo, amongst others, for minor Treasury posts. The same man (chap. 209, p. 12½) subsequently got Poh-lo appointed to a salt superintendency in the provinces; and as Yang-chou is the centre of the salt trade, it is just possible that Marco's 'governorship' of that place may resolve itself into this.

"There are many other Puh-lo and Poh-lo mentioned, both before Marco's arrival in, and subsequently to Marco's departure in 1292 from, China. In several cases (as, for instance, in that of P. Timur) both forms occur in different chapters for the same man; and a certain Tartar called 'Puh-lan Hi' is also called 'Puh-lo Hi.' One of Genghis Khan's younger brothers was called Puh-lo Kadei. There was, moreover, a Cathayan named Puh-lo, and a Naiman Prince Poh-lo. Whether 'Puh-lo the Premier' or 'one of the Ministers,' mentioned in 1282, is the same person as 'Poh-lo the *ts'an chêng*,' or 'Prime Minister's assistant' of 1284, I cannot say. Perhaps, when the whole *Yüan Shih* has been thoroughly searched throughout in all its editions, we may obtain more certain information. Meanwhile, one thing is plain: Pauthier is wrong, Yule is wrong in that particular connection; and M. Cordier gives us no positive view of his own. The other possibilities are given above, but I scarcely regard any of them as probabilities. On p. 99 of his Introduction, Colonel Yule manifestly identifies the Poh-lo of 1282 with Marco; but the identity of his title with that of Puh-lo in 1277 suggests that the two men are one, in which case neither can be Marco Polo. On p. 422 of Vol. I. Yule repeats this identification in his notes. I may mention that much of the information given in the present article was published in Vol. XXIV. of the *China Review* two or three years ago. I notice that M. Cordier quotes that volume in connection with other matters, but this particular point does not appear to have caught his eye.

"As matters now stand, there is a fairly strong presumption that Marco Polo is *once* named in the Annals; but there is no irrefragable evidence; and in any case it is only this once, and not as Pauthier has it."

Cf. also note by Prof. E. H. Parker, *China Review*, XXV. pp. 193-4, and, according to Prof. Pelliot (*Bul. Ecole franç. Ext.*

*Orient*, July-Sept., 1904, p. 769), the biography of Han Lin-eul in the *Ming shi*, k. 122, p. 3.

Prof. Pelliot writes to me: "Il faut renoncer une bonne fois à retrouver Marco Polo dans le Po-lo mêlé à l'affaire d'Ahmed. Grâce aux titulations successives, nous pouvons reconstituer la carrière administrative de ce Po-lo, au moins depuis 1271, c'est-à-dire depuis une date antérieure à l'arrivée de Marco Polo à la cour mongole. D'autre part, Rashid-ud-Din mentionne le rôle joué dans l'affaire d'Ahmed par le Pulad-aqā, c'est-à-dire Pulad Chinsang, son informateur dans les choses mongoles, mais la forme mongole de ce nom de *Pulad* est *Bolod*, en transcription chinoise *Po-lo*. J'ai signalé (*T'oung Pao*, 1914, p. 640) que des textes chinois mentionnent effectivement que Po-lo (Bolod), envoyé en mission auprès d'Arghún en 1285, resta ensuite en Perse. C'est donc en définitive le Pulad (= Bolod) de Rashid-ud-Din qui serait le Po-lo qu'à la suite de Pauthier on a trop longtemps identifié à Marco Polo."

Introduction, p. 23.

"The *Yüan Shih* contains curious confirmation of the facts which led up to Marco Polo's conducting a wife to Arghún of Persia, who lost his spouse in 1286. In the eleventh moon of that year (say January, 1287) the following laconic announcement appears: 'T'a-ch'a-r Hu-nan ordered to go on a mission to A-r-hun.' It is possible that Tachar and Hunan may be two individuals, and, though they probably started overland, it is probable that they were in some way connected with Polo's first and unsuccessful attempt to take the girl to Persia." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 136.)

Introduction, p. 76 n.

With regard to the statue of the Pseudo-Marco Polo of Canton, Dr. B. Laufer, of Chicago, sends me the following valuable note:—

#### THE ALLEGED MARCO POLO LO-HAN OF CANTON.

The temple *Hua lin se* (in Cantonese *Fa lum se*, i.e. Temple of the Flowery Grove) is situated in the western suburbs of the city of Canton. Its principal attraction is the vast hall, the Lo-han t'ang, in which are arranged in numerous avenues some five hundred richly gilded images, about three feet in height, representing the 500 Lo-han (Arhat). The workmanship displayed



in the manufacture of these figures, made of fine clay thickly covered with burnished gilding, is said to be most artistic, and the variety of types is especially noticeable. In this group we meet a statue credited with a European influence. Two opinions are current regarding this statue: one refers to it as representing the image of a Portuguese sailor, the other sees in it a portrait of Marco Polo.

The former view is expressed, as far as I see, for the first time, by MAYERS and DENNYS (*The Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, London and Hong Kong, 1867, p. 162). "One effigy," these authors remark, "whose features are strongly European in type, will be pointed out as the image of a Portuguese seaman who was wrecked, centuries ago, on the coast, and whose virtues during a long residence gained him canonization after death. This is probably a pure myth, growing from an accidental resemblance of the features." This interpretation of a homage rendered to a Portuguese is repeated by C. A. MONTALTO DE JESUS, *Historic Macao* (Hong Kong, 1902, p. 28). A still more positive judgment on this matter is passed by MADROLLE (*Chine du Sud et de l'Est*, Paris, 1904, p. 17): "The attitudes of the Venerable Ones," he says, "are remarkable for their life-like expression, or sometimes, singularly grotesque. One of these personalities placed on the right side of a great altar wears the costume of the 16th century, and we might be inclined to regard it as a Chinese representation of Marco Polo. It is probable, however, that the artist, who had to execute the statue of a Hindu, that is, of a man of the West, adopted as the model of his costume that of the Portuguese who visited Canton since the commencement of the 16th century." It seems to be rather doubtful whether the 500 Lo-han of Canton are really traceable to that time. There is hardly any huge clay statue in China a hundred or two hundred years old, and all the older ones are in a state of decay, owing to the brittleness of the material and the carelessness of the monks. Besides, as stated by Mayers and Dennys (*loc. cit.*, p. 163), the Lo-han Hall of Canton, with its glittering contents, is a purely modern structure, having been added to the Fa-lum Temple in 1846, by means of a subscription mainly supported by the Hong Merchants. Although this statue is not old, yet it may have been made after an ancient model. Archdeacon Gray, in his remarkable and interesting book, *Walks in the City of Canton* (Hong Kong, 1875, p. 207), justly criticized the Marco Polo theory, and simultaneously gave a correct identification of the Lo-han in question. His statement is as



follows : "Of the idols of the five hundred disciples of Buddha, which, in this hall, are contained, there is one, which, in dress and configuration of countenance, is said to resemble a foreigner. With regard to this image, one writer, if we mistake not, has stated that it is a statue of the celebrated traveller Marco Polo, who, in the thirteenth century, visited, and, for some time, resided in the flowery land of China. This statement, on the part of the writer to whom we refer, is altogether untenable. Moreover, it is an error so glaring as to cast, in the estimation of all careful readers of his work, no ordinary degree of discredit upon many of his most positive assertions. The person, whose idol is so rashly described as being that of Marco Polo, was named Shien-Tchu. He was a native of one of the northern provinces of India, and, for his zeal as an apostle in the service of Buddha, was highly renowned."

Everard Cotes closes the final chapter of his book, *The Arising East* (New York, 1907), as follows : "In the heart of Canton, within easy reach of mob violence at any time, may be seen to-day the life-size statue of an elderly European, in gilt clothes and black hat, which the Chinese have cared for and preserved from generation to generation because the original, Marco Polo, was a friend to their race. The thirteenth-century European had no monopoly of ability to make himself loved and revered. A position similar to that which he won as an individual is open to-day to the Anglo-Saxon as a race. But the Mongolian was not afraid of Marco Polo, and he is afraid of us. It can be attained, therefore, only by fair dealing and sympathy, supported by an overwhelming preponderance of fighting strength."

[Dr. Laufer reproduces here the note in *Marco Polo*, I., p. 76. I may remark that I never said nor believed that the statue was Polo's. The mosaic at Genoa is a fancy portrait.]

The question may be raised, however, Are there any traces of foreign influence displayed in this statue? The only way of solving this problem seemed to me the following: First to determine the number and the name of the alleged Marco Polo Lo-han at Canton, and then by means of this number to trace him in the series of pictures of the traditional 500 Lo-han (the so-called *Lo han t'u*).

The alleged Marco Polo Lo-han bears the number 100, and his name is Shan-chu tsun-che (*tsun-che* being a translation of Sanskrit *ārya*, "holy, reverend"). The name Shan-chu evidently represents the rendering of a Sanskrit name, and does not suggest a European name. The illustration here reproduced is

Lo-han No. 100 from a series of stone-engravings in the temple T'ien-ning on the West Lake near Hang Chau. It will be noticed that it agrees very well with the statue figured by M. Cordier. In every respect it bears the features of an Indian Lo-han, with one exception, and this is the curious hat. This, in fact, is the only Lo-han among the five hundred that is equipped with a headgear; and the hat, as is well known, is not found in India. This hat must represent a more or less arbitrary addition of the Chinese artist who created the group, and it is this hat which led to the speculations regarding the Portuguese sailor or Marco Polo. Certain it is also that such a type of hat does not occur in China; but it seems idle to speculate as to its origin, as long as we have no positive information on the intentions of the artist. The striped mantle of the Lo-han is by no means singular, for it occurs with seventeen others. The facts simply amount to this, that the figure in question does not represent a Portuguese sailor or Marco Polo or any other European, but solely an Indian Lo-han (Arhat), while the peculiar hat remains to be explained.

Introduction, p. 92.

#### THIBAUT DE CHEPOY.

Thibaut de Chepoy (Chepoy, canton of Breteuil, Oise), son of the knight Jean de Chepoy, was one of the chief captains of King Philip the Fair. He entered the king's service in 1285 as squire and valet; went subsequently to Robert d'Artois, who placed him in charge of the castle of Saint Omer, and took him, in 1296, to Gascony to fight the English. He was afterwards grand master of the cross-bow men. He then entered the service of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair, who sent him to Constantinople to support the claims to the throne of his wife, Catherine of Courtenay. Thibaut left Paris on the 9th Sept., 1306, passed through Venice, where he met Marco Polo who gave him a copy of his manuscript. Thibaut died between 22nd May, 1311, and 22nd March, 1312. (See Joseph PETIT, in *Le Moyen Age*, Paris, 1897, pp. 224-239.)





# THE BOOK OF MARCO POLO.

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## PROLOGUE.

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II., p. 6.

### SARAI.

"CORDIER (Yule) identifiziert den von Pegolotti gewählten Namen Sāracanco mit dem jüngeren Sarai oder Zarew (dem Sarai grande Fra Mauros), was mir vollkommen untunlich erscheint; es wäre dann die Route des Reisenden geradezu ein Zickzackweg gewesen, der durch nichts zu rechtfertigen wäre." (Dr. Ed. FRIEDMANN, *Pegolotti*, p. 14.)

Prof. Pelliot writes to me: "Il n'y a aucune possibilité de retrouver dans *Saracanco*, *Sarai* + *Künk*. Le mot *Künk* n'est pas autrement attesté, et la construction mongole ou turque exigerait *künk-sarai*."

XIII., pp. 25-26.

### SHANG TU.

See also A. POZDNEIEV, *Mongoliya i Mongoly*, II., pp. 303 *seq.*

XV., pp. 27, 28-30. Now it came that Marco, the son of Messer Nicolo, sped wondrously in learning the customs of the Tartars, as well as their language, their manner of writing, and their practice of war—in fact he came in a brief space to know several languages, and four sundry written characters.

On the linguistic office called *Sse yi kwan*, cf. an interesting note by H. MASPERO, p. 8, of *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, XII., No. 1, 1912.

XV., p. 28 n. Of the Khitán but one inscription was known and no key.

Prof. Pelliot remarks, *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, IV., July-Sept., 1904: "In fact a Chinese work has preserved but five k'i-tan characters, however with the Chinese translation." He writes to me that we do not know *any* k'itan inscription, but half a dozen characters reproduced in a work of the second half of the fourteenth century. The Uíghúr alphabet is of Aramean origin through Sogdian; from this point of view, it is not necessary to call for Estranghelo, nor Nestorian propaganda. On the other hand we have to-day documents in Uíghúr writing older than the *Kudatku Bilik*.

## BOOK FIRST.

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ACCOUNT OF REGIONS VISITED OR HEARD OF  
ON THE JOURNEY FROM THE LESSER ARMENIA  
TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT KAN AT  
CHANDU.





## BOOK I.

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VI., p. 63. "There is also on the river, as you go from Baudas to Kisi, a great city called Bastra, surrounded by woods, in which grow the best dates in the world."

"The products of the country are camels, sheep and dates."  
(At Pi-ssŭ-lo, Basra. CHAU JU-KWA, p. 137.)

VI., pp. 63, 65. "In Baudas they weave many different kinds of silk stuffs and gold brocades, such as *nasich*, and *nac*, and *cramoisie*, and many other beautiful tissue richly wrought with figures of beasts and birds."

In the French text we have *nassit* and *nac*.

"S'il faut en croire M. Defrémery, au lieu de *nassit*, il faut évidemment lire *nassij* (nécidj), ce qui signifie un tissu, en général, et désigne particulièrement une étoffe de soie de la même espèce que le *nekh*. Quant aux étoffes sur lesquelles étaient figurés des animaux et des oiseaux, le même orientaliste croit qu'il faut y reconnaître le *thardwehch*, sorte d'étoffe de soie qui, comme son nom l'indique, représentait des scènes de chasse. On sait que l'usage de ces représentations est très ancien en Orient, comme on le voit dans des passages de Philostrate et de Quinte-Curce rapportés par Mongez." (FRANCISQUE-MICHEL, *Recherches sur le Commerce*, I., p. 262.)

VI., p. 67.

### DEATH OF MOSTAS'IM.

According to Al-Fākhri, translated by E. Amar (*Archives marocaines*, XVI., p. 579), Mostas'im was put to death with his two eldest sons on the 4th of safar, 656 (3rd February, 1258).

XI., p. 75. "The [the men of Tauris] weave many kinds of beautiful and valuable stuffs of silk and gold."

Francisque-Michel (I., p. 316) remarks: "De ce que Marco Polo se borne à nommer Tauris comme la ville de Perse où il se fabriquait maints draps d'or et de soie, il ne faudrait pas en conclure que cette industrie n'existât pas sur d'autres points du même royaume. Pour n'en citer qu'un seul, la ville d'Arsacie, ancienne capitale des Parthes, connue aujourd'hui sous le nom de Caswin, possédait vraisemblablement déjà cette industrie des beaux draps d'or et de soie qui existait encore au temps de Huet, c'est-à-dire au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle."

XIII., p. 78. "Messer Marco Polo found a village there which goes by the name of CALA ATAPERISTAN, which is as much as to say, 'The Castle of the Fire-worshippers.'"

With regard to Kal'ah-i Atashparastān, Prof. A. V. W. Jackson writes (*Persia*, 1906, p. 413): "And the name is rightly applied, for the people there do worship fire. In an article entitled *The Magi in Marco Polo* (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, 26, 79-83) I have given various reasons for identifying the so-called 'Castle of the Fire-Worshippers' with Kashan, which Odoric mentions or a village in its vicinity, the only rival to the claim being the town of Naīn, whose Gabar Castle has already been mentioned above."

XIV., p. 78.

#### PERSIA.

Speaking of Saba and of Cala Ataperistan, Prof. E. H. Parker (*Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 134) has the following remarks: "It is not impossible that certain unexplained statements in the Chinese records may shed light upon this obscure subject. In describing the Arab Conquest of Persia, the Old and New T'ang Histories mention the city of Hia-lah as being amongst those captured; another name for it was *Sam* (according to the Chinese initial and final system of spelling words). A later Chinese poet has left the following curious line on record: 'All the priests venerate Hia-lah.' The allusion is vague and undated, but it is difficult to imagine to what else it can refer. The term *sēng*, or 'bonze,' here translated 'priests,' was frequently applied to Nestorian and Persian priests, as in this case."

XIV., p. 80. "Three Kings."

Regarding the legend of the stone cast into a well, cf. F. W. K. MÜLLER, *Uigurica*, pp. 5-10 (Pelliot).



XVII., p. 90. "There are also plenty of veins of steel and *Ondanique*."

"The *ondanique* which Marco Polo mentions in his 42nd chapter is almost certainly the *pin t'ieh* or 'pin iron' of the Chinese, who frequently mention it as coming from Arabia, Persia, Cophene, Hami, Ouigour-land and other High Asia States." (E. H. PARKER, *Journ. North China Br. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, XXXVIII., 1907, p. 225.)

XVIII., pp. 97, 100. "The province that we now enter is called REOBARLES. . . . The beasts also are peculiar. . . . Then there are sheep here as big as asses; and their tails are so large and fat, that one tail shall weight some 30 lbs. They are fine fat beasts, and afford capital mutton."

Prof. E. H. PARKER writes in the *Journ. of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, XXXVII., 1906, p. 196: "Touching the fat-tailed sheep of Persia, the *Shan-hai-king* says the Yuëh-chi or Indo-Scythy had a 'big-tailed sheep,' the correct name for which is *hien-yang*. The Sung History mentions sheep at Hami with tails so heavy that they could not walk. In the year 1010 some were sent as tribute to China by the King of Kuché."

"Among the native products [at Mu lan p'i, Murābit, Southern Coast of Spain] are foreign sheep, which are several feet high and have tails as big as a fan. In the spring-time they slit open their bellies and take out some tens of catties of fat, after which they sew them up again, and the sheep live on; if the fat were not removed, (the animal) would swell up and die." (CHAU JU-KWA, pp. 142-3.)

"The Chinese of the T'ang period had heard also of the trucks put under these sheep's tails. 'The Ta-shi have a foreign breed of sheep (*hu-yang*) whose tails, covered with fine wool, weigh from ten to twenty catties; the people have to put carts under them to hold them up. Fan-kuo-chi as quoted in Tung-si-yang-k'au." (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, p. 143.)

Leo Africanus, *Historie of Africa*, III., 945 (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), says he saw in Egypt a ram with a tail weighing eighty pounds!

#### OF THE AFRICAN RAMME.

"There is no difference between these rammes of Africa and others, saue onely in their tails, which are of a great thicknes, being by so much the grosser, but how much they are more

fatte, so that some of their tailes waigh tenne, and other twentie pounds a peece, and they become fatte of their owne naturall inclination : but in Egypt there are diuers that feede them fatte with bran and barly, vntill their tailes growe so bigge that they cannot remoooue themselves from place to place : insomuch that those which take charge of them are faine to binde little carts vnder their tailes, to the end they may haue strength to walke. I my selfe saw at a citie in Egypt called Asiot, and standing vpon Nilus, about an hundred and fiftie miles from Cairo, one of the saide rams tailes that weighed fowerscore pounds, and others affirmed that they had seene one of those tailes of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight. All the fatte therefore of this beast consisteth in his taile ; neither is there any of them to be founde but onely in Tunis and in Egypt." (LEO AFRICANUS, edited by Dr. Robert BROWN, III., 1896, Hakluyt Society, p. 945.)

XVIII., pp. 97, 100 n.

Dr. B. Laufer draws my attention to what is probably the oldest mention of this sheep from Arabia, in Herodotus, Book III., Chap. 113 :

"Concerning the spices of Arabia let no more be said. The whole country is scented with them, and exhales an odour marvellously sweet. There are also in Arabia two kinds of sheep worthy of admiration, the like of which is nowhere else to be seen ; the one kind has long tails, not less than three cubits in length, which, if they were allowed to trail on the ground, would be bruised and fall into sores. As it is, all the shepherds know enough of carpentering to make little trucks for their sheep's tails. The trucks are placed under the tails, each sheep having one to himself, and the tails are then tied down upon them. The other kind has a broad tail, which is a cubit across sometimes."

Canon G. Rawlinson, in his edition of Herodotus, has the following note on this subject (II., p. 500) :—

"Sheep of this character have acquired among our writers the name of Cape Sheep, from the fact that they are the species chiefly affected by our settlers at the Cape of Good Hope. They are common in Africa and throughout the East, being found not only in Arabia, but in Persia, Syria, Affghanistan, Egypt, Barbary, and even Asia Minor. A recent traveller, writing from Smyrna, says: 'The sheep of the country are the Cape sheep, having a kind of apron tail, entirely of rich marrowy fat, extending to the width of their hind quarters, and frequently trailing on the

ground; the weight of the tail is often more than six or eight pounds' (FELLOWS'S *Asia Minor*, p. 10). Leo Africanus, writing in the 15th century, regards the broad tail as the great difference between the sheep of Africa and that of Europe. He declares that one which *he had seen* in Egypt weighed 80 lbs. He also mentions the use of trucks which is still common in North Africa."

XVIII., p. 98. "Camadi.—Reobarles.—In this plain there are a number of villages and towns which have lofty walls of mud, made as a defence against the banditti, who are very numerous, and are called CARAONAS. This name is given them because they are the sons of Indian mothers by Tartar fathers."

Mirzá Haidar writes (*Tárikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 148): "The learned Mirzá Ulugh Beg has written a history which he has called *Ulus Arbaa*. One of the 'four hordes' is that of the Moghul, who are divided into two branches, the Moghul and the Chaghatái. But these two branches, on account of their mutual enmity, used to call each other by a special name, by way of depreciation. Thus the Chaghatái called the Moghul *Jatah*, while the Moghul called the Chaghatái *Karáwánás*."

Cf. Ney ELIAS, *l.c.*, pp. 76-77, and App. B, pp. 491-2, containing an inquiry made in Khorasán by Mr. Maula Bakhsh, Attaché at the Meshed Consulate General, of the families of Kárnás, he has heard or seen; he says: "These people speak Turki now, and are considered part of the Goklán Turkomans. They, however, say they are Chingiz-Kháni Moghuls, and are no doubt the descendants of the same Kárnás, or Karávanás, who took such a prominent part in the victories in Persia.

"The word Kárnás, I was told by a learned Goklan Mullah, means *Tirandás*, or *Shikári* (*i.e.* Archer or Hunter), and was applied to this tribe of Moghuls on account of their professional skill in shooting, which apparently secured them an important place in the army. In Turki the word Kárnás means *Shikam-parast*—literally, 'belly worshippers,' which implies avarice. This term is in use at present, and I was told, by a Kázi of Bujnurd, that it is sometimes used by way of reproach. . . . The Kárnás people in Mána and Gurgán say it is the name of their tribe, and they can give no other explanation."

XVIII., pp. 98, 102, 165. "The King of these scoundrels is called NOGODAR."

Sir Aurel Stein has the following regarding the route taken by this Chief in *Serindia*, I., pp. 11-12:—



"To revert to an earlier period it is noteworthy that the route in Marco Polo's account, by which the Mongol partisan leader Nigūdar, 'with a great body of horsemen, cruel unscrupulous fellows,' made his way from Badakhshān 'through another province called PASHAI-DİR, and then through another called ARIORA-KESHMUR' to India, must have led down the Bashgol Valley. The name of *Pashai* clearly refers to the Kāfirs among whom this tribal designation exists to this day, while the mention of *Dir* indicates the direction which this remarkable inroad had taken. That its further progress must have lain through Swāt is made probable by the name which, in Marco Polo's account, precedes that of 'Keshemur' or Kashmīr; for in the hitherto unexplained *Ariora* can be recognized, I believe, the present Agrōr, the name of the well-known hill-tract on the Hazāra border which faces Bunēr from the left bank of the Indus. It is easy to see from any accurate map of these regions, that for a mobile column of horsemen forcing its way from Badakhshān to Kashmīr, the route leading through the Bashgol Valley, *Dir*, Talāsh, Swāt, Bunēr, Agrōr, and up the Jhelam Valley, would form at the present day, too, the most direct and practicable line of invasion."

In a paper on *Marco Polo's Account of a Mongol inroad into Kashmīr* (*Geog. Jour.*, August, 1919), Sir Aurel Stein reverts again to the same subject. "These [Mongol] inroads appear to have commenced from about 1260 A.D., and to have continued right through the reign of Ghiasuddin, Sultan of Delhi (1266-1286), whose identity with Marco's *Asedin Soldan* is certain. It appears very probable that Marco's story of Nogodar, the nephew of Chaghatāi, relates to one of the earliest of these incursions which was recent history when the Poli passed through Persia about 1272-73 A.D."

Stein thinks, with Marsden and Yule, that *Dilivar* (pp. 99, 105) is really a misunderstanding of "*Città di Livar*" for *Lahawar* or Lahore.

*Dir* has been dealt with by Yule and Pauthier, and we know that it is "the mountain tract at the head of the western branch of the Panjkora River, through which leads the most frequented route from Peshawar and the lower Swāt valley to Chitral" (Stein, *l.c.*). Now with regard to the situation of *Pashai* (p. 104):

"It is clear that a safe identification of the territory intended cannot be based upon such characteristics of its people as Marco Polo's account here notes obviously from hearsay, but must

reckon in the first place with the plainly stated bearing and distance. And Sir Henry Yule's difficulty arose just from the fact that what the information accessible to him seemed to show about the location of the name *Pashai* could not be satisfactorily reconciled with those plain topographical data. Marco's great commentator, thoroughly familiar as he was with whatever was known in his time about the geography of the western Hindukush and the regions between Oxus and Indus, could not fail to recognize the obvious connection between our *Pashai* and the tribal name *Pashai* borne by Muhammanized Kafirs who are repeatedly mentioned in mediæval and modern accounts of Kabul territory. But all these accounts seemed to place the Pashais in the vicinity of the great Panjshir valley, north-east of Kabul, through which passes one of the best-known routes from the Afghan capital to the Hindukush watershed and thence to the Middle Oxus. Panjshir, like Kabul itself, lies to the *south-west* of Badakshān, and it is just this discrepancy of bearing together with one in the distance reckoned to Kashmir which caused Sir Henry Yule to give expression to doubts when summing up his views about Nogodar's route."

From Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* we learn that to the south of the range of the Hindukush "the languages spoken from Kashmir in the east to Kafiristan in the west are neither of Indian nor of Iranian origin, but form a third branch of the Aryan stock of the great Indo-European language family. Among the languages of this branch, now rightly designated as 'Dardic,' the Kafir group holds a very prominent place. In the Kafir group again we find the *Pashai* language spoken over a very considerable area. The map accompanying Sir George Grierson's monograph on 'The Pisaca Languages of North-Western India' [Asiatic Society Monographs, VIII., 1906], shows *Pashai* as the language spoken along the right bank of the Kunar river as far as the Asmar tract as well as in the side valleys which from the north descend towards it and the Kabul river further west. This important fact makes it certain that the tribal designation of Pashai, to which this Kafir language owes its name, has to this day an application extending much further east than was indicated by the references which travellers, mediæval and modern, along the Panjshir route have made to the Pashais and from which alone this ethnic name was previously known."

Stein comes to the conclusion that "the Mongols' route led across the Mandal Pass into the great Kafir valley of Bashgol



and thus down to Arnawai on the Kunar. Thence Dir could be gained directly across the Zakhanna Pass, a single day's march. There were alternative routes, too, available to the same destination either by ascending the Kunar to Ashreth and taking the present 'Chitral Road' across the Lowarai, or descending the river to Asmar and crossing the Binshi Pass."

From Dir towards Kashmir for a large body of horsemen "the easiest and in matter of time nearest route must have led them as now down the Panjkora Valley and beyond through the open tracts of Lower Swāt and Buner to the Indus about Amb. From there it was easy through the open northern part of the present Hazara District (the ancient Urasa) to gain the valley of the Jhelam River at its sharp bend near Muzzaffarabad."

The name of *Agror* (the direct phonetic derivative of the Sanskrit *Atyugrapura*) = *Ariora*; it is the name of the hill-tract on the Hazara border which faces Buner on the east from across the left bank of the Indus.

XVIII., p. 101.

Line 17, Note 4. *Korano* of the Indo-Scythic Coins is to be read *Kośano*. (PELLIOT.)

XVIII., p. 102.

On the Mongols of Afghanistan, see RAMSTEDT, *Mogholica*, in *Journ. de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, XXIII., 1905. (PELLIOT.)

XIX., p. 107. "The King is called RUOMEDAN AHOMET."

About 1060, Mohammed I. Dirhem Kub, from Yemen, became master of Hormuz; but his successors remained in the dependency of the sovereigns of Kermán until 1249, when Rokn ed-Din Mahmud III. Kalhaty (1242-1277) became independent. His successors in Polo's time were Self ed-Din Nusrat (1277-1290), Mas'ud (1290-1293), Beha ed-Din Ayaz Seyfin (1293-1311).

XIX., p. 115.

#### HORMOS.

The Travels of Pedro Teixeira, a Portuguese traveller, probably of Jewish origin, certainly not a Jesuit, have been published by the Hakluyt Society:

The Travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his "Kings of Harmuz," and extracts from his "King of Persia." Translated and annotated by William F. Sinclair, Bombay Civil Service (Rtd.); With further Notes and an Introduction by Donald Ferguson,



London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, MDCCCCII, 8vo.  
pp. cvii—292.

See Appendix A. A Short Narrative of the Origin of the Kingdom of Harmusz, and of its Kings, down to its Conquest by the Portuguese; extracted from its History, written by Torunxa, King of the Same, pp. 153-195. App. D. Relation of the Chronicle of the Kings of Ormuz, taken from a Chronicle composed by a King of the same Kingdom, named Pachaturunza, written in Arabic, and summarily translated into the Portuguese language by a friar of the order of Saint Dominick, who founded in the island of Ormuz a house of his order, pp. 256-267.

See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Ormuz*.

Mr. Donald Ferguson, in a note, p. 155, says: "No dates are given in connection with the first eleven rulers of Hormuz; but assuming as correct the date (1278) given for the death of the twelfth, and allowing to each of his predecessors an average reign of thirteen years, the foundation of the kingdom of Hormuz would fall in A.D. 1100. Yule places the founding somewhat earlier; and Valentyn, on what authority I know not, gives A.D. 700 as the date of the founder Muhammad."

XIX., I., p. 116; II., p. 444.

#### DIET OF THE GULF PEOPLE.

Prof. E. H. Parker says that the T'ang History, in treating of the Arab conquests of Fuh-lin [or Frank] territory, alludes to the "date and dry fish diet of the Gulf people." The exact Chinese words are: "They feed their horses on dried fish, and themselves subsist on the *hu-mang*, or Persian date, as Bretschneider has explained." (*Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 134.)

Bretschneider, in *Med. Researches*, II., p. 134, n. 873, with regard to the dates writes: "*Wan nien tsao*, 'ten thousand years' jujubes'; called also *Po-sze tao*, or 'Persian jujubes.' These names and others were applied since the time of the T'ang dynasty to the dates brought from Persia. The author of the *Pen ts'ao kang mu* (end of the sixteenth century) states that this fruit is called *k'u-lu-ma* in Persia. The Persian name of the date is *khurma*."

Cf. CHAU JU-KWA, p. 210.

XXII., p. 128 n.

#### TUN-O-KAIN.

Major Sykes had adopted Sir Henry Yule's theory of the

route from Kuh-benan to Tun. He has since altered his opinion in the *Geographical Journal*, October, 1905, p. 465 : "I was under the impression that a route ran direct from Kubunán to Tabas, but when visiting this latter town a few months ago I made careful inquiries on the subject, which elicited the fact that this was not the case, and that the route invariably followed by Kubunán-Tabas caravans joined the Kermán-Rávar-Naiband route at Cháh-Kuru, 12 miles south of Darbana. It follows this track as far as Naiband, whence the route to Tabas branches off; but the main caravan route runs *viâ* Zenagan and Duhuk to Tun. This new information, I would urge, makes it almost certain that Ser Marco travelled to Tun, as Tabas falls to the west of the main route. Another point is that the district of Tabas only grows four months' supplies, and is, in consequence, generally avoided by caravans owing to its dearness.

"In 1893 I travelled from Tun to the south across the Lut as far as Cháh Kuru by this very route, and can testify to the general accuracy of Ser Marco's description,\* although there are now villages at various points on the way. Finally, as our traveller especially mentions Tonocain, or Tun va Kain, one is inclined to accept this as evidence of first-rate importance, especially as it is now corroborated by the information I gained at Tabas. The whole question, once again, furnishes an example of how very difficult it is to make satisfactory inquiries, except on the spot."

It was also the opinion (1882) of Colonel C. E. Stewart, who says: "I was much interested in hearing of Kuh Banan, as it is one of the places mentioned by Marco Polo as on his route. Kuh Banan is described as a group of villages about 26 miles from the town of Rawar, in the Kárman district. I cannot help thinking the road travelled by Marco Polo from Kárman to Kain is the one by Naiband. Marco Polo speaks of Tun-o-Cain, which, Colonel Yule has pointed out, undoubtedly means Tun and Kain. At present Tun does not belong to the Kain district, but to the Tabbas district, and is always spoken of as Tun-o-Tabbas; and if it belonged, as I believe it formerly did, to the Kain district, it would be spoken of as Tun-o-Kain, exactly as Marco Polo does. Through Naiband is the shortest and best road to either Tun or Kain." (*Proc. Royal Geog. Soc.*, VIII., 1886, p. 144.)

Support to Yule's theory has been brought by Sven Hedin, who devotes a chapter to Marco Polo in his *Overland to India*,

\* The eight stages would be :—(1) Hasanábád, 21 miles; (2) Darband, 28 miles; (3) Chehel Pái, 23 miles; (4) Naiband, 39 miles; (5) Zenagán, 47 miles; (6) Duhuk, 25 miles; (7) Chah Khusháb, 36 miles; and (8) Tun, 23 miles.



II., 1910, Chap. XL., and discusses our traveller's route between Kuh-benan and Tabbas, pp. 71 *seq.* :

"As even Sykes, who travelled during several years through Persia in all directions, cannot decide with full certainty whether Marco Polo travelled by the western route through Tebbes or the eastern through Naibend, it is easy to see how difficult it is to choose between the two roads. I cannot cite the reasons Sir Henry Yule brings forward in favour of the western route—it would take us too far. I will, instead, set forth the grounds of my own conviction that Marco Polo used the direct caravan road between Kuh-benan and Tebbes.

"The circumstance that the main road runs through Naibend is no proof, for we find that Marco Polo, not only in Persia but also in Central Asia, exhibited a sovereign contempt for all routes that might be called convenient and secure.

"The distance between Kerman and Kuh-benan in a direct line amounts to 103 miles. Marco Polo travelled over this stretch in seven days, or barely 15 miles a day. From Kuh-benan to Tebbes the distance is 150 miles, or fully 18 miles a day for eight days. From Kuh-benan *viâ* Naibend to Tun, the distance is, on the other hand, 205 miles, or more than 25 miles a day. In either case we can perceive from the forced marches that after leaving Kuh-benan he came out into a country where the distances between the wells became much greater.

"If he travelled by the eastern route he must have made much longer day's journeys than on the western. On the eastern route the distances between the wells were greater. Major Sykes has himself travelled this way, and from his detailed description we get the impression that it presented particular difficulties. With a horse it is no great feat to ride 25 miles a day for eight days, but it cannot be done with camels. That I rode 42½ miles a day between Hauz-i-Haji-Ramazan and Sadfe was because of the danger from rain in the Kevir, and to continue such a forced march for more than two days is scarcely conceivable. Undoubtedly Marco Polo used camels on his long journeys in Eastern Persia, and even if he had been able to cover 205 miles in eight days, he would not be obliged to do so, for on the main road through Naibend and Duhuk to Tun there are abundant opportunities of procuring water. Had he travelled through Naibend, he would in any case have had no need to hurry on so fast. He would probably keep to the same pace as on the way from Kerman to Kuh-benan, and this length he accomplished in seven days. Why should he have made the



journey from Kuh-benan to Tun, which is exactly double as far, in only eight days instead of fourteen, when there was no necessity? And that he actually travelled between Kuh-benan and Tunocain in eight days is evident, because he mentions this number twice.

"He also says explicitly that during these eight days neither fruits nor trees are to be seen, and that you have to carry both food and water. This description is not true of the Naibend route, for in Naibend there are excellent water, fine dates, and other fruits. Then there is Duhuk, which, according to Sykes, is a very important village with an old fort and about 200 houses. After leaving Duhuk for the south, Sykes says: 'We continued our journey, and were delighted to hear that at the next stage, too, there was a village, proving that this section of the Lut is really quite thickly populated.' [*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 35.]

This does not agree at all with Marco Polo's description.

"I therefore consider it more probable that Marco Polo, as Sir Henry Yule supposes, travelled either direct to Tebbes, or perhaps made a trifling détour to the west, through the moderate-sized village Bahabad, for from this village a direct caravan road runs to Tebbes, entirely through desert. Marco Polo would then travel 150 miles in eight days compared with 103 miles in seven days between Kerman and Kuh-benan. He therefore increased his speed by only 4 miles a day, and that is all necessary on the route in question.

"Bahabad lies at a distance of 36 miles from Kubenan—all in a straight line. And not till beyond Bahabad does the real desert begin.

"To show that a caravan road actually connects Tebbes with Bahabad, I have inserted in the first and second columns of the following table the data I obtained in Tebbes and Fahanunch, and in the third the names marked on the 'Map of Persia (in six sheets) compiled in the Simla Drawing Office of the Survey of India, 1897.'

<i>From Tebbes to Bahabad.</i>			<i>From Fahanunch to Bahabad.</i>		
1. Kurit . . . . .	4		2. Moghu . . . . .	4½	
2. Moghu . . . . .	9		3. Sefid-ab . . . . .	6	
3. Sefid-ab . . . . .	6		4. Belucha . . . . .	5	
4. Burch . . . . .	5		5. God-i-shah-taghi . . . . .	6	
5. God . . . . .	5		6. Rizab . . . . .	5	
6. Rizab . . . . .	6		7. { Teng-i-Tebbes . . . . .	4½	
7. Pudenum . . . . .	8		7. { Pudenum . . . . .	4½	
8. Ser-i-julge . . . . .	4		8. Kheirabad . . . . .	4	
9. Bahabad . . . . .	4		9. Bahabad . . . . .	4	
Farsakh . . . . .	51		Farsakh . . . . .	43½	

*Map of Persia.*

2.	Maga	.	.	.	Salt well.
3.	Chashma Sufid	.	.	.	" "
	{ Khudafrin	.	.	.	Sweet spring.
4.	{ Pir Moral	.	.	.	Salt well.
5.	God Hashtaki	.	.	.	" "
6.	Rezu	.	.	.	" "

"These details are drawn from different authorities, but are in excellent agreement. That the total distances are different in the first two columns is because Fahanunch lies nearer than Tebbes to Bahabad. Two or three discrepancies in the names are of no importance. Burch denotes a castle or fort; Belucha is evidently Cha-i-beluch or the well of the Baluchi, and it is very probable that a small fort was built some time or other at this well which was visited by raiders from Baluchistan. Ser-i-julge and Kheirabad may be two distinct camping grounds very near each other. The Chasma Sufid or 'white spring' of the English map is evidently the same place as Sefid-ab, or 'white water.' Its God Hashtaki is a corruption of the Persian God-i-shah-taghi, or the 'hollow of the royal saxaul.' Khudafrin, on the other hand, is very apocryphal. It is no doubt Khuda-aferin or 'God be praised!'—an ejaculation very appropriate in the mouth of a man who comes upon a sweet spring in the midst of the desert. If an Englishman travelled this way he might have mistaken this ejaculation for the name of the place. But then 'Unsurveyed' would hardly be placed just in this part of the Bahabad Desert.

"The information I obtained about the road from Tebbes to Bahabad was certainly very scanty, but also of great interest. Immediately beyond Kurit the road crosses a strip of the Kevir, 2 farsakh broad, and containing a river-bed which is said to be filled with water at the end of February. Sefid-ab is situated among hillocks and Burch in an upland district; to the south of it follows Kevir barely a farsakh broad, which may be avoided by a circuitous path. At God-i-shah-taghi, as the name implies, saxaul grows (*Haloxylon Ammodendron*). The last three halting-places before Bahabad all lie among small hills.

"This desert route runs, then, through comparatively hilly country, crosses two small Kevir depressions, or offshoots of one and the same Kevir, has pasturage at at least one place, and presents no difficulties of any account. The distance in a direct line is 113 miles, corresponding to 51 Persian farsakh—the farsakh in this district being only about 2·2 miles long against 2·9 in the great Kevir. The caravans which go through the



Bahabad desert usually make the journey in ten days, one at least of which is a rest day, so that they cover little more than 12 miles a day. If water more or less salt were not to be found at all the eight camping-grounds, the caravans would not be able to make such short marches. It is also quite possible that sweet water is to be found in one place; where saxaul grows driftsand usually occurs, and wells digged in sand are usually sweet.

"During my stay in Tebbes a caravan of about 300 camels, as I have mentioned before, arrived from Sebsevar. They were laden with *naft* (petroleum), and remained waiting till the first belt of Kevir was dried after the last rain. As soon as this happened the caravan would take the road described above to Bahabad, and thence to Yezd. And this caravan route, Sebsevar, Turshiz, Bajistan, Tun, Tebbes, Bahabad, and Yezd, is considered less risky than the somewhat shorter way through the great Kevir. I myself crossed a part of the Bahabad desert where we did not once follow any of the roads used by caravans, and I found this country by no means one of the worst in Eastern Persia.

"In the above exposition I believe that I have demonstrated that it is extremely probable that Marco Polo travelled, not through Naibend to Tun, but through Bahabad to Tebbes, and thence to Tun and Kain. His own description accords in all respects with the present aspect and peculiarities of the desert route in question. And the time of eight days he assigns to the journey between Kuh-benan and Tonocain renders it also probable that he came to the last-named province at Tebbes, even if he travelled somewhat faster than caravans are wont to do at the present day. It signifies little that he does not mention the name Tebbes; he gives only the name of the province, adding that it contains a great many towns and villages. One of these was Tebbes."

XXII., p. 126.

#### TUTIA.

"It seems that the word is 'the Arabicized word *dūdhdā*, being Persian for "smokes."' There can be little doubt that we have direct confirmation of this in the Chinese words *t'ou-t'ieh* (still, I think, in use) and *t'ou-shih*, meaning 'tou-iron' and 'tou-ore.' The character *Tou* 鑪 does not appear in the old dictionaries; its first appearance is in the History of the Toba (Tungusic) Dynasty of North China. This History first mentions the name 'Persia' in A.D. 455 and the existence



there of this metal, which, a little later on, is also said to come from a State in the Cashmeer region. K'ang-hi's seventeenth-century dictionary is more explicit: it states that Termed produces this ore, but that 'the true sort comes from Persia, and looks like gold, but on being heated it turns carnation, and *not* black.' As the Toba Emperors added 1000 new characters to the Chinese stock, we may assume this one to have been invented for the specific purpose indicated.'" (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, pp. 135-6.) Prof. Parker adds the following note, *loc.*, p. 149: "Since writing the above, I have come across a passage in the 'History of the Sung Dynasty' (chap. 490, p. 17) stating that an Arab junk-master brought to Canton in A.D. 990, and sent on thence to the Chinese Emperor in Ho Nan, 'one vitreous bottle of *tutia*.' The two words mean 'metropolis-father,' and are therefore without any signification, except as a foreign word. According to Yule's notes (I., p. 126), *tutidá*, or *dudhá*, in one of its forms was used as an eye-ointment or collyrium."

XXII., pp. 127-139. The Province of Tonocain "contains an immense plain on which is found the ARBRE SOL, which we Christians call the *Arbre Sec*; and I will tell you what it is like. It is a tall and thick tree, having the bark on one side green and the other white; and it produces a rough husk like that of a chestnut, but without anything in it. The wood is yellow like box, and very strong, and there are no other trees near it nor within a hundred miles of it, except on one side, where you find trees within about ten miles distance."

In a paper published in the *Journal of the R. As. Soc.*, Jan., 1909, Gen. Houtum-Schindler comes to the conclusion, p. 157, that Marco Polo's tree is not the "Sun Tree," but the Cypress of Zoroaster; "Marco Polo's *arbre sol* and *arbre seul* stand for the Persian *dirakht i sol*, i.e. the cypress-tree." If General Houtum Schindler had seen the third edition of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, I., p. 113, he would have found that I read his paper of the *J. R. A. S.*, of January, 1898.

XXII., p. 132, l. 22. The only current coin is millstones.

Mr. T. B. CLARKE-THORNHILL wrote to me in 1906: "Though I can hardly imagine that there can be any connection between the Caroline Islands and the 'Amiral d'Outre l'Arbre Sec,' still it may interest you to know that the currency of 'mill-stones' existed up to a short time ago, and may do so still, in the island of Yap, in that group. It consisted of various-sized

discs of quartz from about 6 inches to nearly 3 feet in diameter, and from  $\frac{1}{2}$  an inch to 3 or 4 inches in thickness."

XXV., p. 146.

### OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN.

Regarding the reduction of the Ismaelites, "the *Yuān Shī* tells us that in 1222, on his way back after the taking of Nishapur, Tuli, son of Genghis, plundered the State of Mu-la-i, captured Herat, and joined his father at Talecan. In 1229 the King of Mu-lei presented himself at the Mongol Court. . . . The following statement is also found in the Mongol Annals: "In the seventh moon [1252] the Emperor ordered K'i-t'ah-t'èh Pu-ha to carry war against the Ma-la-hi." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 136.)

XXVI., p. 149. "On leaving the Castle [of the Old Man], you ride over fine plains and beautiful valleys, and pretty hill-sides producing excellent grass pasture, and abundance of fruits, and all other products. . . . This kind of country extends for six days' journey, with a goodly number of towns and villages, in which the people are worshippers of Mahommet. Sometimes also you meet with a tract of desert extending for 50 or 60 miles, or somewhat less, and in these deserts you find no water, but have to carry it along with you. . . . So after travelling for six days as I have told you, you come to a city called Sapurgan. . . ."

Sven Hedin remarks: "From this it is apparent that the six days' journey of fine country were traversed immediately before Marco Polo reached Sapurgan. Sir Henry Yule says in a note: 'Whether the true route be, as I suppose, by Nishapur and Meshed, or, as Khanikoff supposes, by Herat and Badghis, it is strange that no one of those famous cities is mentioned. And we feel constrained to assume that something has been misunderstood in the dictation, or has dropped out of it.' Yule removes the six days of fine country to the district between Sebsevar and Meshed, and considers that for at least the first day's marches beyond Nishapur Marco Polo's description agrees admirably with that given by Fraser and Ferrier.

"I travelled between Sebsevar and Meshed in the autumn of 1890, and I cannot perceive that Marco Polo's description is applicable to the country. He speaks of six days' journey through beautiful valleys and pretty hillsides. To the east of Sebsevar you come out into desert country, which, however



passes into fertile country with many villages.\* Then there comes a boundless dreary steppe to the south. At the village Seng-i-kal-i-deh you enter an undulating country with immense flocks of sheep. 'The first stretch of the road between Shurab and Nishapur led us through perfect desert . . . ; but the landscape soon changed its aspect; the desert passed by degrees into cultivated lands, and we rode past several villages surrounded by fields and gardens. . . . We here entered the most fertile and densely peopled region in Khorasan, in the midst of which the town of Nishapur is situated.' Of the tract to the east of Nishapur I say: 'Here are found innumerable villages. The plain and slopes are dotted with them. This district is extraordinarily densely inhabited and well cultivated.' But then all this magnificence comes to an end, and of the last day's journey between Kademgah and Meshed I write: 'The country rose and we entered a maze of low intricate hillocks. . . . The country was exceedingly dreary and bare. Some flocks of sheep were seen, however, but what the fat and sleek sheep lived on was a puzzle to me. . . . This dismal landscape was more and more enlivened by travellers. . . . To the east stretched an undulating steppe up to the frontier of Afghanistan.'

"The road between Sebsevar and Meshed is, in short, of such a character that it can hardly fit in with Marco Polo's enthusiastic description of the six days. And as these came just before Sapurgan, one cannot either identify the desert regions named with the deserts about the middle course of the Murgab which extend between Meshed and Shibirkhan. He must have crossed desert first, and it may be identified with the nemek-sar or salt desert east of Tun and Kain. The six days must have been passed in the ranges Paropamisus, Firuz-kuh, and Bend-i-Turkestan. Marco Polo is not usually wont to scare his readers by descriptions of mountainous regions, but at this place he speaks of mountains and valleys and rich pastures. As it was, of course, his intention to travel on into the heart of Asia, to make a détour through Sebsevar was unnecessary and out of his way. If he had travelled to Sebsevar, Nishapur, and Meshed, he would scarcely call the province of Tun-o-Kain the extremity of Persia towards the north, even as the political boundaries were then situated.

"From Balkh his wonderful journey proceeded further eastwards, and therefore we take leave of him. Precisely in Eastern Persia his descriptions are so brief that they leave free room for

\* *Genom Khorasan och Turkestan*, I., pp. 123 seq.



all kinds of speculations. In the foregoing pages it has been simply my desire to present a few new points of view. The great value of Marco Polo's description of the Persian desert consists in confirming and proving its physical invariableness during more than six hundred years. It had as great a scarcity of oases then as now, and the water in the wells was not less salt than in our own days." (*Overland to India*, II., pp. 75-77.)

XXVII., p. 152 n.

#### DOGANA.

"The country of Dogana is quite certain to be the Chinese T'u-ho-lo or Tokhara; for the position suits, and, moreover, nearly all the other places named by Marco Polo along with Dogana occur in Chinese History along with Tokhara many centuries before Polo's arrival. Tokhara being the most important, it is inconceivable that Marco Polo would omit it. Thus, Poh-lo (Balkh), capital of the Eptals; Ta-la-kien (Talecan), mentioned by Hiuan Tsang; Ho-sim or Ho-ts'z-mi (Casem), mentioned in the *T'ang History*; Shik-nih or Shī-k'i-ni (Syghinan) of the *T'ang History*; Woh-k'an (Vochan), of the same work; several forms of Bolor, etc. (see also my remarks on the Pamir region in the *Contemporary Review* for Dec., 1897)." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 142.)

XXIX., p. 160.

#### BADAKHSHAN.

"The Chinese name for 'Badakhshan' never appears before the Pa-ta-shan of Kúblái's time." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 143.)

XXX., pp. 164-166. "You must know that ten days' journey to the south of Badashan there is a province called PASHAI, the people of which have a peculiar language, and are Idolaters, of a brown complexion. They are great adepts in sorceries and the diabolic arts. The men wear earrings and brooches of gold and silver set with stones and pearls. They are a pestilent people and a crafty; and they live upon flesh and rice. Their country is very hot."

Sir A. STEIN writes (*Ancient Khotan*, I., pp. 14-15 n.): "Sir Henry Yule was undoubtedly right in assuming that Marco Polo had never personally visited these countries and that his account of them, brief as it is, was derived from hearsay information about the tracts which the Mongol partisan leader Nigudar

had traversed, about 1260 A.D., on an adventurous incursion from Badakhshān towards Kashmīr and the Panjāb. In Chapter XVIII., where the Venetian relates that exploit (see Yule, *Marco Polo*, I., p. 98, with note, p. 104), the name of Pashai is linked with *Dir*, the territory on the Upper Panjkōra river, which an invader, wishing to make his way from Badakhshān into Kashmīr by the most direct route, would necessarily have to pass through.

"The name *Pashai* is still borne to this day by a Muhamadanized tribe closely akin to the Siāh-pōsh, settled in the Panjshīr Valley and in the hills on the west and south of Kāfiristān. It has been very fully discussed by Sir Henry Yule (*Ibid.*, I., p. 165), who shows ample grounds for the belief that this tribal name must have once been more widely spread over the southern slopes of the Hindu kush as far as they are comprised in the limits of Kāfiristān. If the great commentator nevertheless records his inability to account for Marco Polo's application of 'the name Pashai to the country south-east of Badakhshan,' the reason of the difficulty seems to me to lie solely in Sir Henry Yule's assumption that the route heard of by the traveller, led 'by the Dorāh or the Nuksān Pass, over the watershed of Hindu kush into Chitrāl and so to Dir.'

"Though such a route *via* Chitrāl would, no doubt, have been available in Marco Polo's time as much as now, there is no indication whatever forcing us to believe that it was the one really meant by his informants. When Nigūdar 'with a great body of horsemen, cruel unscrupulous fellows' went off from Badakhshān towards Kashmīr, he may very well have made his way over the Hindu kush by the more direct line that passes to *Dir* through the eastern part of Kāfiristān. In fact, the description of the Pashai people and their country, as given by Marco Polo, distinctly points to such a route; for we have in it an unmistakable reflex of characteristic features with which the idolatrous Siāh-pōsh Kāfirs have always been credited by their Muhammadan neighbours.

"It is much to be regretted that the Oriental records of the period, as far as they were accessible to Sir Henry Yule, seemed to have retained only faint traces of the Mongol adventurer's remarkable inroad. From the point of view of Indian history it was, no doubt, a mere passing episode. But some details regarding it would possess special interest as illustrating an instance of successful invasion by a route that so far has not received its due share of attention." [See *supra*, pp. 4, 22-24.]



XXX., p. 164.

"The Chinese Toba Dynasty History mentions, in company with Samarcand, *K'a-shī-mih* (Cashmeer), and Kapisa, a State called *Pan-shê*, as sending tribute to North China along with the Persian group of States. This name *Pan-shê* 半社 does not, to the best of my belief, occur a second time in any Chinese record." (PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 135.)

XXX., p. 164. "Now let us proceed and speak of another country which is seven day's journey from this one [Pashai] towards the south-east, and the name of which is KESHIMUR."

This short estimate has perplexed Sir Henry Yule, *l.c.*, p. 166. Sir Aurel Stein remarks in a note, *Serindia*, I., p. 12: "The route above indicated [Nigudar's route] permits an explanation. Starting from some point like Arnawal on the Kūnār River which certainly would be well within 'Pashai,' lightly equipped horsemen could by that route easily reach the border of Agrōr on the Indus within seven days. Speaking from personal knowledge of almost the whole of the ground I should be prepared to do the ride myself by the following stages: Dīr, Warai, Sado, Chakdara, Kin kargalai, Bājkatta, Kai or Darband on the Indus. It must be borne in mind that, as Yule rightly recognized, Marco Polo is merely reproducing information derived from a Mongol source and based on Nigudar's raid; and further that Hazāra and the valley of the Jhelam were probably then still dependent on the Kashmīr kingdom, as they were certainly in Kalhana's time, only a century earlier. As to the rate at which Mongols were accustomed to travel on 'Dak,' cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, I., pp. 434 *seq.*"

XXXII., pp. 170, 171. "The people [of Badashan] are Mahometans, and valiant in war. . . . They [the people of Vokhan] are gallant soldiers."

In Afghan Wakhan, Sir Aurel Stein writes:

"On we cantered at the head of quite a respectable cavalcade to where, on the sandy plain opposite to the main hamlet of Sarhad, two companies of foot with a squad of cavalry, close on two hundred men in all, were drawn up as a guard of honour. Hardy and well set up most of them looked, giving the impression of thoroughly serviceable human material, in spite of a manifestly defective drill and the motley appearance of dress and equipment.



They belonged, so the Colonel explained to me afterwards, to a sort of militia drafted from the local population of the Badakhshan valleys and Wakhan into the regiments permanently echeloned as frontier guards along the Russian border on the Oxus. Apart from the officers, the proportion of true Pathans among them was slight. Yet I could well believe from all I saw and heard, that, properly led and provided for, these sturdy Iranian hillmen might give a good account of themselves. Did not Marco Polo speak of the people of 'Badashan' as 'valiant in war' and of the men of 'Vokhan' as gallant soldiers?" (*Ruins of Desert Cathay*, I., p. 66.)

XXXII., pp. 170 *seq.*

In Chap. III., pp. 64-66, of his *Serindia*, Sir Aurel Stein has the following on Marco Polo's account of Wakhan:—

"After Wu-k'ung's narrative of his journey the Chinese sources of information about the Pāmīrs and the adjoining regions run dry for nearly a thousand years. But that the routes leading across them from Wakhān retained their importance also in Muhammedan times is attested by the greatest mediæval travellers, Marco Polo. I have already, in *Ancient Khotan* [pp. 41 *seq.*], discussed the portion of his itinerary which deals with the journey across the Pāmīrs to 'the kingdom of Cascar' or Kāshgar, and it only remains here to note briefly what he tells us of the route by which he approached them from Badakhshan: 'In leaving Badashan you ride twelve days 'between east and north-east, ascending a river that runs through land belonging to a brother of the Prince of Badashan, and containing a good many towns and villages and scattered habitations. The people are Mahommetans, and valiant in war. At the end of those twelve days you come to a province of no great size, extending indeed no more than three days' journey in any direction, and this is called VOKHAN. The people worship Mahommet, and they have a peculiar language. They are gallant soldiers, and they have a chief whom they call NONE, which is as much as to say *Count*, and they are liegemen to the Prince of Badashan.' [Polo, I., pp. 170-171.]

"Sir Henry Yule was certainly right in assuming that 'the river along which Marco travels from Badakhshan is no doubt the upper stream of the Oxus, locally known as the Panja. . . . It is true that the river is reached from Badakhshan Proper by ascending another river (the Vardoj) and crossing the 'Pass of Ishkāshm,

but in the brief style of our narrative we must expect such condensation.' [Polo, I., pp. 172-3.] Marco's great commentator was guided by equally true judgment when he recognized in the indications of this passage the same system of government that prevailed in the Oxus valleys until modern times. Under it the most of the hill tracts dependent from Badakhshan, including Ishkāshim and Wakhān, were ruled not direct by the Mir, but by relations of his or hereditary chiefs who held their districts on a feudal tenure. The twelve days' journey which Marco records between Badashan and 'Vokhan' are, I think, easily accounted for if it is assumed that the distance from capital to capital is meant; for twelve marches are still allowed for as the distance from Bahārak, the old Badakhshan capital on the Vardoj, to Kila Panja.

"That the latter was in Marco's days, as at present, the chief place of Wakhān is indicated also by his narrative of the next stage of his journey. 'And when you leave this little country, and ride three days north-east, always among mountains, you get to such a height that 'tis said to be the highest place in the world! And when you have got to this height you find [a great lake between two mountains, and out of it] a fine river running through a plain. . . . The plain is called PAMIER.' The bearing and descriptive details here given point clearly to the plain of the Great Pāmīr and Victoria Lake, its characteristic feature. About sixty-two miles are reckoned from Langar-kisht, the last village on the northern branch of the Āb-i-Panja and some six miles above Kila Panja, to Mazār-tapa where the plain of the Great Pāmīr may be said to begin, and this distance agrees remarkably well with the three marches mentioned by Marco.

"His description of Wakhān as 'a province of no great size, extending indeed no more than three days' journey in any direction' suggests that a portion of the valley must then have formed part of the chiefship of Ishkāshim or Zebak over which we may suppose 'the brother of the Prince of Badashan' to have ruled. Such fluctuations in the extent of Wakhān territory are remembered also in modern times. Thus Colonel Trotter, who visited Wakhān with a section of the Yarkand Mission in 1874, distinctly notes that 'Wakhān formerly contained three "sads" or hundreds, *i.e.*, districts, containing 100 houses each' (*viz.* Sad-i-Sar-hadd, Sad Sipang, Sad Khandūt). To these Sad Ishtragh, the tract extending from Dīgargand to Ishkāshim, is declared to have been added in recent times, having formerly been an independent principality. It only remains to note that Marco was right, too,



in his reference to the peculiar language of Wakhān ; for Wakhī—which is spoken not only by the people of Wakhān but also by the numerous Wakhī colonists spread through Mastūj, Hunza Sarikol, and even further east in the mountains—is a separate language belonging to the well-defined group of Galcha tongues which itself forms the chief extant branch of Eastern Iranian."

XXXII., pp. 171 *seq.*, 175, 182.

#### THE PLATEAU OF PAMIR.

"On leaving Tāsh-kurgān (July 10, 1900), my steps, like those of Hiuan-tsang, were directed towards Kāshgar. . . . In Chapters V.-VII. of my Personal Narrative I have given a detailed description of this route, which took me past Muztāgh-Ata to Lake Little Kara-kul, and then round the foot of the great glacier-crowned range northward into the Gez defile, finally debouching at Tāshmalik into the open plain of Kāshgari. Though scarcely more difficult than the usual route over the Chichiklik Pass and by Yangi-Hisar, it is certainly longer and leads for a considerably greater distance over ground which is devoid of cultivation or permanent habitations.

"It is the latter fact which makes me believe that Professor H. Cordier was right in tracing by this very route Marco Polo's itinerary from the Central Pamirs to Kāshgar. The Venetian traveller, coming from Wakhān, reached, after three days, a great lake which may be either Lake Victoria or Lake Chakmak, at a 'height that is said to be the highest place in the world.' He then describes faithfully enough the desert plain called 'Pamier,' which he makes extend for the distance of a twelve days' ride. and next tells us: 'Now, if we go on with our journey towards the east-north-east, we travel a good forty days, continually passing over mountains and hills, or through valleys, and crossing many rivers and tracts of wilderness. And in all this way you find neither habitation of man, nor any green thing, but must carry with you whatever you require.'

"This reference to continuous 'tracts of wilderness' shows clearly that, for one reason or another, Marco Polo did not pass through the cultivated valleys of Tāsh-kurgān or Tagharma, as he would necessarily have done if his route to Kāshgar, the region he next describes, had lain over the Chichiklik Pass. We must assume that, after visiting either the Great or Little Pāmīr, he travelled down the Ak-su river for some distance, and then crossing the watershed eastwards by one of the numerous



passes struck the route which leads past Muztāgh-Ata and on towards the Gez defile. In the brief supplementary notes contributed to Professor Cordier's critical analysis of this portion of Marco Polo's itinerary, I have pointed out how thoroughly the great Venetian's description of the forty days' journey to the E.N.E. of the Pāmīr Lake can be appreciated by any one who has passed through the Pāmīr region and followed the valleys stretching round the Muztāgh-Ata range on the west and north (cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II., pp. 593 *seq.*). After leaving Tāsh-kurghān and Tagharma there is no local produce to be obtained until the oasis of Tāshmalik is reached. In the narrow valley of the Yamān-yār river, forming the Gez defile, there is scarcely any grazing; its appearance down to its opening into the plain is, in fact, far more desolate than that of the elevated Pāmīr regions.

"In the absence of any data as to the manner and season in which Marco Polo's party travelled, it would serve no useful purpose to hazard explanations as to why he should assign a duration of forty days to a journey which for a properly equipped traveller need not take more than fifteen or sixteen days, even when the summer floods close the passage through the lower Gez defile, and render it necessary to follow the circuitous track over the Tokuk Dawān or 'Nine Passes.' But it is certainly worth mention that Benedict Goëz, too, speaks of the desert of 'Pāmech' (Pāmīr) as taking forty days to cross if the snow was extensive, a record already noted by Sir H. Yule (*Cathay*, II., pp. 563 *seq.*). It is also instructive to refer once more to the personal experience of the missionary traveller on the alternative route by the Chichiklik Pass. According to the record quoted above, he appears to have spent no less than twenty-eight days in the journeys from the hamlets of 'Sarcil' (Sarīkol, *i.e.* Tāsh-kurghān) to 'Hiarchan' (Yarkand)—a distance of some 188 miles, now reckoned at ten days' march." (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 40-42.)

XXXII., p. 171. "The Plain is called PAMIER, and you ride across it for twelve days together, finding nothing but a desert without habitations or any green thing, so that travellers are obliged to carry with them whatever they have need of."

At Sarhad, Afghan Wakhan, Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, I., p. 69, writes: "There was little about the low grey houses, or rather hovels, of mud and rubble to indicate the importance which from early times must have attached to Sarhad as the

highest place of permanent occupation on the direct route leading from the Oxus to the Tarim Basin. Here was the last point where caravans coming from the Bactrian side with the products of the Far West and of India could provision themselves for crossing that high tract of wilderness 'called Pamier' of which old Marco Polo rightly tells us: 'You ride across it . . .' And as I looked south towards the snow-covered saddle of the Baroghil, the route I had followed myself, it was equally easy to realize why Kao Hsien-chih's strategy had, after the successful crossing of the Pamirs, made the three columns of his Chinese Army concentrate upon the stronghold of Lien-yün, opposite the present Sarhad. Here was the base from which Yasin could be invaded and the Tibetans ousted from their hold upon the straight route to the Indus."

XXXII., p. 174.

"The note connecting Hiuan Tsang's Kieh sha with Kashgar is probably based upon an error of the old translators, for the Sita River was in the Pamir region, and *K'a sha* was one of the names of Kasanna, or Kieh-shwang-na, in the Oxus region." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 143.)

XXXII., I. p. 173; II. p. 593.

#### PAONANO PAO.

Cf. *The Name Kushan*, by J. F. Fleet, *Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, April, 1914, pp. 374-9; *The Shaonano Shao Coin Legend*; and a Note on the name .Kushan by J. Allan, *Ibid.*, pp. 403-411. PAONANO PAO. Von Joh. Kirste. (*Wiener Zeit. f. d. Kunde d. Morg.*, II., 1888, pp. 237-244.)

XXXII., p. 174.

#### YUE CHI.

"The old statement is repeated that the Yüeh Chi, or Indo-Scyths (*i.e.* the Eptals), "are said to have been of Tibetan origin." A long account of this people was given in the *Asiatic Quart. Rev.* for July, 1902. It seems much more likely that they were a branch of the Hiung-nu or Turks. Albiruni's "report" that they were of Tibetan origin is probably founded on the Chinese statement that some of their ways were like Tibetan ways, and that polyandry existed amongst them; also that they fled from the Hiung-nu westwards along the *north*

edge of the Tibetan territory, and some of them took service as Tibetan officials." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 143.)

XXXII., pp. 178-179. <sup>1</sup>

#### BOLOR.

We read in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Haidar (Notes by Ney Elias; translated by E. D. Ross, 1895), p. 135, that Sultán Said Khán, son of Mansur Khán, sent the writer in the year 934 (1528), "with Rashid Sultán, to Balur, which is a country of infidels [*Káfiristán*], between Badakhshan and Kashmir, where we conducted successfully a holy war [*ghazát*], and returned victorious, loaded with booty and covered with glory."

Mirza Haidar gives the following description of Bolor (pp. 384-5): "Balur is an infidel country [*Káfiristán*], and most of its inhabitants are mountaineers. Not one of them has a religion or a creed. Nor is there anything which they [consider it right to] abstain from or to avoid [as impure]; but they do whatever they list, and follow their desires without check or compunction. Baluristán is bounded on the east by the province of Káshgar and Yárkand; on the north by Badakhshán; on the west by Kábul and Lumghán; and on the south by the dependencies of Kashmir. It is four months' journey in circumference. Its whole extent consists of mountains, valleys, and defiles, insomuch that one might almost say that in the whole of Baluristán, not one *farsákh* of level ground is to be met with. The population is numerous. No village is at peace with another, but there is constant hostility, and fights are continually occurring among them."

From the note to this passage (p. 385) we note that "for some twenty years ago, Mr. E. B. Shaw found that the Kirghiz of the Pamirs called Chitrál by the name of *Pálor*. To all other inhabitants of the surrounding regions, however, the word appears now to be unknown. . . .

"The Balur country would then include Hunza, Nagar, possibly Tásh Kurghán, Gilgit, Panyál, Yasin, Chitrál, and probably the tract now known as Kafiristan: while, also, some of the small states south of Gilgit, Yasin, etc., may have been regarded as part of Balur. . . .

"The conclusions arrived at [by Sir H. Yule], are very nearly borne out by Mirza Haidar's description. The only differences are (1) that, according to our author, Baltistán cannot have been



included in Balur, as he always speaks of that country, later in his work, as a separate province with the name of *Balti*, and says that it bordered on Balur; and (2) that *Balur* was confined almost entirely, as far as I am able to judge from his description in this passage and elsewhere, to the southern slopes of the Eastern Hindu Kush, or Indus water-parting range; while Sir H. Yule's map makes it embrace Sárigh-Kul and the greater part of the eastern Pamirs."

XXXIII., p. 182. "The natives [of Cascar] are a wretched, niggardly set of people; they eat and drink in miserable fashion."

The people of Kashgar seem to have enjoyed from early times a reputation for rough manners and deceit (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 49 n). Stein, p. 70, recalls Hiuan Tsang's opinion: "The disposition of the men is fierce and impetuous, and they are mostly false and deceitful. They make light of decorum and politeness, and esteem learning but little." Stein adds, p. 70, with regard to Polo's statement: "Without being able to adduce from personal observation evidence as to the relative truth of the latter statement, I believe that the judgements recorded by both those great travellers may be taken as a fair reflex of the opinion in which the 'Kāshgarliks' are held to this day by the people of other Turkeṣtān districts, especially by the Khotanese. And in the case of Hiuan Tsang at least, it seems probable from his long stay in, and manifest attachment to, Khotan that this neighbourly criticism might have left an impression upon him."

XXXVI., p. 188.

#### KHOTAN.

Sir Aurel Stein writes (*Ancient Khotan*, I., pp. 139-140): "Marco Polo's account of Khotan and the Khotanese forms an apt link between these early Chinese notices and the picture drawn from modern observation. It is brief but accurate in all details. The Venetian found the people 'subject to the Great Kaan' and 'all worshippers of Mahommet.' 'There are numerous towns and villages in the country, but Cotan, the capital, is the most noble of all and gives its name to the kingdom. Everything is to be had there in plenty, including abundance of cotton [with flax, hemp, wheat, wine, and the like]. The people have vineyards and gardens and estates. They live by commerce and manufactures, and are no soldiers.' Nor did the peculiar laxity of

morals, which seems always to have distinguished the people of the Khotan region, escape Marco Polo's attention. For of the 'Province of Pein,' which, as we shall see, represents the oases of the adjoining modern district of Keriya, he relates the custom that 'if the husband of any woman go away upon a journey and remain away for more than twenty days, as soon as that term is past the woman may marry another man, and the husband also may then marry whom he pleases.'

"No one who has visited Khotan or who is familiar with the modern accounts of the territory, can read the early notices above extracted without being struck at once by the fidelity with which they reflect characteristic features of the people at the present day. Nor is it necessary to emphasize the industrial pre-eminence which Khotan still enjoys in a variety of manufactures through the technical skill and inherited training of the bulk of its population."

Sir Aurel Stein further remarks (*Ancient Khotan*, I., p. 183): "When Marco Polo visited Khotan on his way to China, between the years 1271 and 1275, the people of the oasis were flourishing, as the Venetian's previously quoted account shows. His description of the territories further east, Pein, Cherchen, and Lop, which he passed through before crossing 'the Great Desert' to Sha-chou, leaves no doubt that the route from Khotan into Kansu was in his time a regular caravan road. Marco Polo found the people of Khotan 'all worshippers of Mahommet' and the territory subject to the 'Great Kaan,' i.e. Kúblái, whom by that time almost the whole of the Middle Kingdom acknowledged as emperor. While the neighbouring Yarkand owed allegiance to Kaidu, the ruler of the Chagatai dominion, Khotan had thus once more renewed its old historical connexion with China."

XXVI., p. 190.

"A note of Yule's on p. 190 of Vol. I. describes Johnson's report on the people of Khoten (1865) as having 'a slightly Tartar cast of countenance.' The Toba History makes the same remark 1300 years earlier: 'From Kao-ch'ang (Turfan) westwards the people of the various countries have deep eyes and high noses; the features in only this one country (Khoten) are not very *Hu* (Persian, etc.), but rather like Chinese.' I published a tolerably complete digest of Lob Nor and Khoten early history from Chinese sources, in the *Anglo-Russian Society's Journal* for Jan. and April, 1903. It appears to me that the ancient capital Yotkhan, discovered thirty-five years ago, and visited in 1891 by

MM. de Rhins and Grenard, probably furnishes a clue to the ancient Chinese name of Yu-t'ien." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 143.)

XXXVII., p. 190 n.

Stein has devoted a whole chapter of his *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, Chap. XVI., pp. 256 seq. to *Yotkan, the Site of the Ancient Capital*.

XXXVII., p. 191, n. 1.

# PEIN.

"It is a mistake to suppose that the earlier pilgrim Fa-hien (A.D. 400) followed the 'directer route' from China; he was obliged to go to Kao ch'ang, and then turn sharp south to Khoten." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 143.)

XXXVII., p. 192.

I have embodied, in Vol. II., p. 595, of Marco Polo, some of the remarks of Sir Aurel Stein regarding Pein and Uzun Tati. In *Ancient Khotan*, I., pp. 462-3, he has given further evidence of the identity of Uzun Tati and P'i mo, and he has discussed the position of Ulüg-Ziärat, probably the Han mo of Sung Yun.

XXXVII., p. 191; II., p. 595.

"Keriya, the Pein of Marco Polo and Pimo of Hwen Tsiang, writes Huntington, is a pleasant district, with a population of about fifteen thousand souls." Huntington discusses (p. 387) the theory of Stein:

"Stein identifies Pimo or Pein, with ancient Kenan, the site . . . now known as Uzun Tetti or Ulugh Mazar, north of Chira. This identification is doubtful, as appears from the following table of distances given by Hwen Tsiang, which is as accurate as could be expected from a casual traveller. I have reckoned the 'li,' the Chinese unit of distance, as equivalent to 0.26 of a mile.

Names of Places.	True Distance.	Distance according to	
		Hwen Tsiang.	
Khotan (Yutien) to Keriya (Pimo) . . .	97 miles.	330 li.	86 miles.
Keriya (Pimo) to Niya (Niyang) . . .	64 "	200 "	52 "
Niya (Niyang) to Endereh (Tuholo) . . .	94 "	400 "	104 "
Endereh (Tuholo) to Kotäk Sheri ? (Chemotona)	138? "	600 "	156 "
Kotäk Sheri (Chemotona) to Lulan (Nafopo) .	264? "	1000 "	260 "

"If we use the value of the 'li' 0.274 of a mile given by



Hedin, the distances from Khotān to Keriya and from Keriya to Niya, according to Hwen Tsiang, become 91 and 55 miles instead of 86 and 52 as given in the table, which is not far from the true distances, 97 and 64.

"If, however, Pimo is identical with Kenan, as Stein thinks, the distances which Hwen Tsiang gives as 86 and 52 miles become respectively 60 and 89, which is evidently quite wrong.

"Strong confirmation of the identification of Keriya with Pimo is found in a comparison of extracts from Marco Polo's and Hwen Tsiang's accounts of that city with passages from my note-book, written long before I had read the comments of the ancient travellers. Marco Polo says that the people of Pein, or Pima, as he also calls it, have the peculiar custom 'that if a married man goes to a distance from home to be about twenty days, his wife has a right, if she is so inclined, to take another husband; and the men, on the same principle, marry wherever they happen to reside.' The quotation from my notes runs as follows: 'The women of the place are noted for their attractiveness and loose character. It is said that many men coming to Keriya for a short time become enamoured of the women here, and remain permanently, taking new wives and abandoning their former wives and families.'

"Hwen Tsiang observed that thirty 'li,' seven or eight miles, west of Pimo, there is 'a great desert marsh, upwards of several acres in extent, without any verdure whatever. The surface is reddish black.' The natives explained to the pilgrim that it was the blood-stained site of a great battle fought many years before. Eighteen miles north-west of Keriya bazaar, or ten miles from the most westerly village of the oasis, I observed that 'some areas which are flooded part of the year are of a deep rich red colour, due to a small plant two or three inches high.' I saw such vegetation nowhere else and apparently it was an equally unusual sight to Hwen Tsiang.

"In addition to these somewhat conclusive observations, Marco Polo says that jade is found in the river of Pimo, which is true of the Keriya, but not of the Chira, or the other rivers near Kenan." (Ellsworth HUNTINGTON, *The Pulse of Asia*, pp. 387-8.)

XXVIII., p. 194. "The whole of the Province [of Charchan] is sandy, and so is the road all the way from Pein, and much of the water that you find is bitter and bad. However, at some places you do find fresh and sweet water."

Sir Aurel Stein remarks (*Ancient Khotan*, I., p. 436): "Marco Polo's description, too, 'of the Province of Charchan' would agree with the assumption that the route west of Charchan was not altogether devoid of settlements even as late as the thirteenth century. . . . [His] account of the route agrees accurately with the conditions now met with between Niya and Charchan. Yet in the passage immediately following, the Venetian tells us how 'when an army passes through the land, the people escape with their wives, children, and cattle a distance of two or three days' journey into the sandy waste; and, knowing the spots where water is to be had, they are able to live there, and to keep their cattle alive, while it is impossible to discover them.' It seems to me clear that Marco Polo alludes here to the several river courses which, after flowing north of the Niya-Charchan route, lose themselves in the desert. The jungle belt of their terminal areas, no doubt, offered then, as it would offer now, safe places of refuge to any small settlements established along the route southwards."

XXXIX., p. 197.

#### OF THE CITY OF LOP.

Stein remarks, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, I., p. 343: "Broad geographical facts left no doubt for any one acquainted with local conditions that Marco Polo's Lop, 'a large town at the edge of the Desert' where 'travellers repose before entering on the Desert' *en route* for Sha chou and China proper, must have occupied the position of the present Charklik. Nor could I see any reason for placing elsewhere the capital of that 'ancient kingdom of Na-fo-po, the same as the territory of Lou-lan,' which Hiuan Tsang reached after ten marches to the north-east of Chü-mo or Charchan, and which was the pilgrim's last stage before his return to Chinese soil."

In his third journey (1913-1916), Stein left Charchan on New Year's Eve, 1914, and arrived at Charkhlik on January 8, saying: "It was from this modest little oasis, the only settlement of any importance in the Lop region, representing Marco Polo's 'City of Lop,' that I had to raise the whole of the supplies, labour, and extra camels needed by the several parties for the explorations I had carefully planned during the next three months in the desert between Lop-nor and Tunhuang."

"The name of LOB appears under the form *Lo pou* in the *Yuan-shi*, s.a. 1282 and 1286. In 1286, it is mentioned as a



postal station near those of K'ie-t'ai, Che-ch'an and Wo-tuan. Wo-tuan is Khotan. Che-ch'an, the name of which reappears in other paragraphs, is Charchan. As to K'ie-t'ai, a postal station between those of Lob and Charchan, it seems probable that it is the Kätäk of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*." (PELLIOT.)

See in the *Journ. Asiatique*, Jan.-Feb., 1916, pp. 117-119, Pelliot's remarks on *Lob*, *Navapa*, etc.

XXXIX., pp. 196-7.

#### THE GREAT DESERT.

After reproducing the description of the Great Desert in Sir Henry Yule's version, Stein adds, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, I., p. 518:

"It did not need my journey to convince me that what Marco here tells us about the risks of the desert was but a faithful reflex of old folklore beliefs he must have heard on the spot. Sir Henry Yule has shown long ago that the dread of being led astray by evil spirits haunted the imagination of all early travellers who crossed the desert wastes between China and the oases westwards. Fa-hsien's above-quoted passage clearly alludes to this belief, and so does Hiuan Tsang, as we have seen, where he points in graphic words the impressions left by his journey through the sandy desert between Niya and Charchan.

"Thus, too, the description we receive through the Chinese historiographer, Ma Tuan-lin, of the shortest route from China towards Kara-shahr, undoubtedly corresponding to the present track to Lop-nor, reads almost like a version from Marco's book, though its compiler, a contemporary of the Venetian traveller, must have extracted it from some earlier source. 'You see nothing in any direction but the sky and the sands, without the slightest trace of a road; and travellers find nothing to guide them but the bones of men and beasts and the droppings of camels. During the passage of this wilderness you hear sounds, sometimes of singing, sometimes of wailing; and it has often happened that travellers going aside to see what these sounds might be have strayed from their course and been entirely lost; for they were voices of spirits and goblins.' . . .

"As Yule rightly observes, 'these Goblins are not peculiar to the Gobi.' Yet I felt more than ever assured that Marco's stories about them were of genuine local growth, when I had travelled over the whole route and seen how closely its topographical features agree with the matter-of-fact details which the



first part of his chapter records. Anticipating my subsequent observations, I may state here at once that Marco's estimate of the distance and the number of marches on this desert crossing proved perfectly correct. For the route from Charklik, his 'town of Lop,' to the 'City of Sachi,' *i.e.* Sha-chou or Tun-huang, our plane-table survey, checked by cyclometer readings, showed an aggregate marching distance of close on 380 miles."

XXXIX., p. 196.

#### OF THE CITY OF LOP AND THE GREAT DESERT.

"In the hope of contributing something toward the solution of these questions [contradictory statements of Prjevalsky, Richthofen, and Sven Hedin]," writes Huntington, "I planned to travel completely around the unexplored part of the ancient lake, crossing the Lop desert in its widest part. As a result of the journey, I became convinced that two thousand years ago the lake was of great size, covering both the ancient and the modern locations; then it contracted, and occupied only the site shown on the Chinese maps; again, in the Middle Ages, it expanded; and at present it has contracted and occupies the modern site.

"Now, as in Marco Polo's days, the traveller must equip his caravan for the desert at Charklik, also known as Lop, two days' journey south-west of the lake." (Ellsworth HUNTINGTON, *The Pulse of Asia*, pp. 240-1.)

XXXIX., pp. 197, 201.

#### NOISES IN THE GREAT DESERT.

As an answer to a paper by C. TOMLINSON, in *Nature*, Nov. 28, 1895, p. 78, we find in the same periodical, April 30, 1896, LIII., p. 605, the following note by KUMAGUSU MINAKATA:

"The following passage in a Chinese itinerary of Central Asia—Chun Yuen's *Si-yih-kien-wan-luh*, 1777 (British Museum, No. 15271, b. 14), tom. VII., fol. 13 b.—appears to describe the icy sounds similar to what Ma or Head observed in North America (see *supra*, *ibid.*, p. 78).

"Muh-süh-urh-tah-fan (= Muzart), that is Ice Mountain [*Snowy* according to Prjevalsky], is situated between Ili and Ushi. . . . In case that one happens to be travelling there close to sunset, he should choose a rock of moderate thickness and lay down on it. In solitary night then, he would hear the sounds, now like those of gongs and bells, and now like those of strings

and pipes, which disturb ears through the night: these are produced by multifarious noises coming from the cracking ice."

Kumagusu Minakata has another note on remarkable sounds in Japan in *Nature*, LIV., May 28, 1896, p. 78.

Sir T. Douglas Forsyth, *Buried Cities in the Shifting Sands of the Great Desert of Gobi*, *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, Nov. 13, 1876, says, p. 29: "The stories told by Marco Polo, in his 39th chapter, about shifting sands and strange noises and demons, have been repeated by other travellers down to the present time. Colonel Prjevalsky, in pp. 193 and 194 of his interesting *Travels*, gives his testimony to the superstitions of the Desert; and I find, on reference to my diary, that the same stories were recounted to me in Kashghar, and I shall be able to show that there is some truth in the report of treasures being exposed to view."

P. 201, Line 12. Read the Governor of Urumtsi *founded* instead of *found*.

XL., p. 203. Marco Polo comes to a city called Sachiu belonging to a province called Tangut. "The people are for the most part Idolaters. . . . The Idolaters have a peculiar language, and are no traders, but live by their agriculture. They have a great many abbeys and minsters full of idols of sundry fashions, to which they pay great honour and reverence, worshipping them and sacrificing to them with much ado."

Sachiu, or rather Tun Hwang, is celebrated for its "Caves of Thousand Buddhas"; Sir Aurel Stein wrote the following remarks in his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, II., p. 27: "Surely it was the sight of these colossal images, some reaching nearly a hundred feet in height, and the vivid first impressions retained of the cult paid to them, which had made Marco Polo put into his chapter on 'Sachiu,' i.e. Tun-huang, a long account of the strange idolatrous customs of the people of Tangut. . . . Tun-huang manifestly had managed to retain its traditions of Buddhist piety down to Marco's days. Yet there was plentiful antiquarian evidence showing that most of the shrines and art remains at the Halls of the Thousand Buddhas dated back to the period of the T'ang Dynasty, when Buddhism flourished greatly in China. Tun-huang, as the westernmost outpost of China proper, had then for nearly two centuries enjoyed imperial protection both against the Turks in the north and the Tibetans southward. But during the succeeding period, until the advent of paramount Mongol power, some two generations before Marco Polo's visit, these marches had been exposed to barbarian inroads of all sorts.

The splendour of the temples and the number of the monks and nuns established near them had, no doubt, sadly diminished in the interval."

XL., p. 205.

Prof. Pelliot accepts as a Mongol plural *Tangut*, but remarks that it is very ancient, as *Tangut* is already to be found in the Orkhon inscriptions. At the time of Chingiz, *Tangut* was a singular in Mongol, and *Tangu* is nowhere to be found.

XL., p. 206.

The Tangutans are descendants of the Tang-tu-chüeh"; it must be understood that they are descendants of *T'u Kiueh* of the T'ang Period. (PELLIOT.)

Lines 7 and 8 from the foot of the page: instead of T'ung hoang, read Tun hoang; Kiu-kaan, read Tsiu tsüan.

XL., p. 207, note 2. The 'peculiar language' is si-hia (PELLIOT).

XLI., pp. 210, 212, n. 3.

#### THE PROVINCE OF CAMUL.

See on the discreditable custom of the people of Qamul, a long note in the second edition of *Cathay*, I., pp. 249-250.

XLI., p. 211.

Prof. Parker remarks (*Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 142) that: "The Chinese (Manchu) agent at Urga has not (nor, I believe, ever had) any control over the Little Bucharía Cities. Moreover, since the reconquest of Little Bucharía in 1877-1878, the whole of those cities have been placed under the Governor of the New Territory (Kan Suh Sin-kiang Sün-fu), whose capital is at Urumtsi. The native Mohammedan Princes of Hami have still left to them a certain amount of home rule, and so lately as 1902 a decree appointing the rotation of their visits to Peking was issued. The present Prince's name is *Shamu Hust*, or *Hussot*."

XLII., p. 215.

#### THE PROVINCE OF CHINGINTALAS.

Prof. E. H. PARKER writes in the *Journ. of the North China Branch of the Royal As. Soc.*, XXXVII., 1906, p. 195: "On p. 215 of Yule's Vol. I. some notes of Palladius' are given touching Chingkintalas, but it is not stated that Palladius supposed the word *Ch'ih kin* to date after the Mongols, that is, that



Palladius felt uncertain about his identification. But Palladius is mistaken in feeling thus uncertain: in 1315 and 1326 the Mongol History twice mentions the garrison starts at *Ch'ih kin*, and in such a way that the place must be where Marco Polo puts it, *i.e.* west of Kia-yüh Kwan."

#### OF THE PROVINCE OF SUKCHUR.

XLIII., p. 217. "Over all the mountains of this province rhubarb is found in great abundance, and thither merchants come to buy it, and carry it thence all over the world. Travellers, however, dare not visit those mountains with any cattle but those of the country, for a certain plant grows there which is so poisonous that cattle which eat it lose their hoofs. The cattle of the country know it and eschew it."

During his crossing of the Nan Shan, Sir Aurel Stein had the same experience, five of his ponies being "benumbed and refusing to touch grass or fodder." The traveller notes that, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, II., p. 303: "I at once suspected that they had eaten of the poisonous grass which infests certain parts of the Nan Shan, and about which old Marco has much to tell in his chapter on 'Sukchur' or Su-chou. The Venetian's account had proved quite true; for while my own ponies showed all the effects of this inebriating plant, the local animals had evidently been wary of it. A little bleeding by the nose, to which Tila Bai, with the veterinary skill of an old Ladak 'Kirakash,' promptly proceeded, seemed to afford some relief. But it took two or three days before the poor brutes were again in full possession of their senses and appetites."

"Wild rhubarb, for which the Nan-shan was famous in Marco Polo's days, spread its huge fleshy leaves everywhere." (STEIN, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, II., p. 305.)

XLIII., p. 218.

#### SUKCHUR.

The first character of Suchau was pronounced *Suk* at the time of the T'ang; we find a *Sughčiu* in von Le Coq's MSS. from Turkestan and *Sughčü* in the runnic text of W. Thomsen; cf. PELLLOT, *J. As.*, Mai-Juin, 1912, p. 591; the pronunciation *Suk*-chau was still used by travellers coming from Central Asia—for instance, by the envoys of Shah Rukh. See *Cathay*, III., p. 126 n.

#### OF THE CITY OF CAMPICHU.

XLIV., pp. 219 *seq.* "The Idolaters have many minsters and abbeys

after their fashion. In these they have an enormous number of idols, both small and great, certain of the latter being a good ten paces in stature; some of them being of wood, others of clay, and others yet of stone. They are all highly polished, and then covered with gold. The great idols of which I speak lie at length. And round about them there are other figures of considerable size, as if adoring and paying homage before them."

The ambassadors of Shah Rukh to China (1419-1422) wrote :

"In this city of Kamchau there is an idol temple five hundred cubits square. In the middle is an idol lying at length, which measures fifty paces. The sole of the foot is nine paces long, and the instep is twenty-one cubits in girth. Behind this image and overhead are other idols of a cubit (?) in height, besides figures of *Bakshis* as large as life. The action of all is hit off so admirably that you would think they were alive. Against the wall also are other figures of perfect execution. The great sleeping idol has one hand under his head, and the other resting on his thigh. It is gilt all over, and is known as *Shakamuni-fu*. The people of the country come in crowds to visit it, and bow to the very ground before this idol" (*Cathay*, I., p. 277).

XLV., p. 223.

#### OF THE CITY OF ETZINA.

I said, I., p. 225, that this town must be looked for on the river *Hei-shui*, called *Etsina* by the Mongols, and would be situated on the river on the border of the Desert, at the top of a triangle, whose bases would be Suhchau and Kanchau. My theory seems to be fully confirmed by Sir Aurel Stein, who writes :

"Advantages of geographical position must at all times have invested this extensive riverine tract, limited as are its resources, with considerable importance for those, whether armed host or traders, who would make the long journey from the heart of Mongolia in the north to the Kansu oases. It had been the same with the ancient Lou-lan delta, without which the Chinese could not have opened up the earliest and most direct route for the expansion of their trade and political influence into Central Asia. The analogy thus presented could not fail to impress me even further when I proceeded to examine the ruins of Khara-khoto, the 'Black Town,' which Colonel Kozloff, the distinguished Russian explorer, had been the first European to visit during his expedition of 1908-1909. There remained no doubt for me then



that it was identical with Marco Polo's 'City of Etzina.' Of this we are told in the great Venetian traveller's narrative that it lay a twelve days' ride from the city of Kan-chou, 'towards the north on the verge of the desert; it belongs to the Province of Tangut.' All travellers bound for Kara-koram, the old capital of the Mongols, had here to lay in victuals for forty days in order to cross the great 'desert which extends forty days' journey to the north, and on which you meet with no habitation nor baiting place.'

"The position thus indicated was found to correspond exactly to that of Khara-khoto, and the identification was completely borne out by the antiquarian evidence brought to light. It soon showed me that though the town may have suffered considerably, as local tradition asserts, when Chingiz Khan with his Mongol army first invaded and conquered Kansu from this side about 1226 A.D., yet it continued to be inhabited down to Marco Polo's time, and partially at least for more than a century later. This was probably the case even longer with the agricultural settlement for which it had served as a local centre, and of which we traced extensive remains in the desert to the east and north-east. But the town itself must have seen its most flourishing times under Tangut or Hsi-hsia rule from the beginning of the eleventh century down to the Mongol conquest.

"It was from this period, when Tibetan influence from the south seems to have made itself strongly felt throughout Kansu, that most of the Buddhist shrines and memorial Stupas dated, which filled a great portion of the ruined town and were conspicuous also outside it. In one of the latter Colonel Kozloff had made his notable find of Buddhist texts and paintings. But a systematic search of this and other ruins soon showed that the archæological riches of the site were by no means exhausted. By a careful clearing of the débris which covered the bases of Stupas and the interior of temple cellas we brought to light abundant remains of Buddhist manuscripts and block prints, both in Tibetan and the as yet very imperfectly known old Tangut language, as well as plenty of interesting relievos in stucco or terra-cotta and frescoes. The very extensive refuse heaps of the town yielded up a large number of miscellaneous records on paper in the Chinese, Tangut, and Uigur scripts, together with many remains of fine glazed pottery, and of household utensils. Finds of Hsi-hsia coins, ornaments in stone and metal, etc., were also abundant, particularly on wind-eroded ground.



"There was much to support the belief that the final abandonment of the settlement was brought about by difficulties of irrigation." (*A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia*, 1913-16, *Geog. Jour.*, Aug.-Sept., 1916, pp. 38-39.)

M. Ivanov (*Isviestia* Petrograd Academy, 1909) thinks that the ruined city of Kara Khoto, a part at the Mongol period of the Yi-tsi-nai circuit, could be its capital, and was at the time of the Si Hia and the beginning of the Mongols, the town of Hei shui. It also confirms my views.

Kozlov found (1908) in a stupa not far from Kara Khoto a large number of Si Hia books, which he carried back to Petrograd, where they were studied by Prof. A. IVANOV, *Zur Kenntniss der Hsi-hsia Sprache* (*Bul. Ac. Sc. Pet.*, 1909, pp. 1221-1233). See *The Si-hia Language*, by B. LAUFER (*T'oung Pao*, March, 1916, pp. 1-126).

XLVI., p. 226. "Originally the Tartars dwelt in the north on the borders of Chorch'a."

Prof. Pelliot calls my attention that Ramusio's text, f. 13 v, has: "Essi habitauano nelle parti di Tramontana, cioè in Giorza, e Bargu, doue sono molte pianure grandi . . ."

XLVI., p. 230.

#### TATAR.

"Mr. Rockhill is quite correct in his Turkish and Chinese dates for the first use of the word *Tatar*, but it seems very likely that the much older eponymous word *T'atun* refers to the same people. The Toba History says that in A.D. 258 the chieftain of that Tartar Tribe (not yet arrived at imperial dignity) at a public durbar read a homily to various chiefs, pointing out to them the mistake made by the Hiung-nu (Early Turks) and 'T'a-tun fellows' (Early Mongols) in raiding his frontiers. If we go back still further, we find the *After Han History* speaking of the 'Middle T'atun'; and a scholion tells us *not to pronounce the final 'n.'* If we pursue our inquiry yet further back, we find that *T'ah-tun* was originally the name of a Sien-pi or Wu-hwan (apparently Mongol) Prince, who tried to secure the *shen-yü* ship for himself, and that it gradually became (1) a title, (2) and the name of a tribal division (see also the *Wei Chi* and the *Early Han History*). Both *Sien-pi* and *Wu-hwan* are the names of mountain haunts, and at this very day part of the Russian Liao-tung railway is styled the 'Sien-pi railway' by the native Chinese newspapers." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 141.)

Page 231, note 3. Instead of *Yuché*, read *Juché*.

XLVI., p. 232.

#### KARACATHAYANS.

"There seems to be no doubt that Kerman in South Persia is the city to which the Kara-Cathayan refugee fled from China in 1124; for Major Sykes, in his recent excellent work on Persia, actually mentions [p. 194] the Kuba Sabz, or 'Green Dome,' as having been (until destroyed in 1886 by an earthquake) the most conspicuous building, and as having also been the tomb of the Kara-Khitai Dynasty. The late Dr. Bretschneider (*N. China B. R. As. Soc. Journal*, Vol. X., p. 101) had imagined the Kara-Cathayan capital to be Kerminé, lying between Samarcand and Bokhara (see *Asiatic Quart. Rev.* for Dec., 1900, 'The Cathayans'). Colonel Yule does not appear to be quite correct when he states (p. 232) that 'the Gurkhan himself is not described to have extended his conquests into Persia,' for the Chinese history of the Cathayan or Liao Dynasties distinctly states that at Samarcand, where the Cathayan remained for ninety days, the 'King of the Mohammedans' brought tribute to the emigrant, *who then went West as far as K'i-r-man*, where he was proclaimed Emperor by his officers. This was on the fifth day of the second moon in 1124, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and he then assumed the title of *Koh-r-han*." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, pp. 134-5.)

XLVI., p. 236.

#### KERAITS.

"In his note to Vol. I., p. 236, M. Cordier [read Mr. Rockhill], who seems to have been misled by d'Avezac, confuses the Ch'ih-lêh or T'ieh-lêh (who have been clearly proved to be identical with the Tölös of the Turkish inscriptions) with the much later K'êh-lieh or Keraits of Mongol history; at no period of Chinese history were the Ch'ih-lêh called, as he supposes, *K'i-lê*, and therefore the Ch'ih-lêh of the third century cannot possibly be identified with the K'ê-lieh of the thirteenth. Besides, the 'value' of *lêh* is 'luck,' whilst the 'value' of *lieh* is 'leet,' if we use English sounds as equivalents to illustrate Chinese etymology. It is remarkable that the Kin (Nüchen) Dynasty in its Annals leaves no mention whatever of the Kerait tribe, or of any tribe having an approximate name, although the *Yüan Shih* states that



the Princes of that tribe used to hold a Nüchen patent. A solution of this unexplained fact may yet turn up." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan. 1904, p. 139.)

Page 236, note †. Instead of *Tura*, read *Tula*. (PELLIOT.)

LI., pp. 245, 248.

#### DEATH OF CHINGIZ KHAN.

"Gaubil's statement that he was wounded in 1212 by a stray arrow, which compelled him to raise the siege of Ta-t'ung Fu, is exactly borne out by the *Yüan Shih*, which adds that in the seventh moon (August) of 1227 (shortly after the surrender of the Tangut King) the conqueror died at the travelling-palace of Ha-la T'u on the Sa-li *stream* at the age of sixty-six (sixty-five by our reckoning). As less than a month before he was present at Ts'ing-shui (lat.  $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , long.  $106\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ), and was even on his dying bed, giving instructions how to meet the Nüchen army at T'ung-kwan (lat.  $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , long.  $110\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ ), we may assume that the place of his death was on the Upper Wei River near the frontiers joining the modern Kan Suh and Shen Si provinces. It is true the Sa-li *River* (not stream) is thrice mentioned, and also the Sa-lê-chu River, both in Mongolia; on the other hand, the Sa-li Ouigours are frequently mentioned as living in West Kan Suh; so that we may take it the word *Sali* or *Sari* was a not uncommon Turkish word. Palladius' identification of *K'i-lien* with 'Kerulen' I am afraid cannot be entertained. The former word frequently occurs in the second century B.C., and is stated to be a second Hiung-nu (Turkish) word for 'sky' or 'heaven.' At or about that date the Kerulen was known to the Chinese as the Lu-kü River, and the geographies of the present dynasty clearly identify it as such. The T'ien-Shan are sometimes called the K'i-lien Shan, and the word *K'i-lien* is otherwise well established along the line of the Great Wall." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, pp. 136-7.)

Prof. Pelliot informs me that in No. 3 (Sept., 1918) of Vol. III of *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* there is an article on the *Discovery of and Investigation concerning the Tomb of Gengis Khan*. I have not seen it.

LI., p. 249.

#### TAILGAN.

"The *taiłgan*, or autumn meeting of the Mongols, is probably the *tai-lin*, or autumn meeting, of the ancient Hiung-nu described



on p. 10, Vol. XX. of the *China Review*. The Kao-ch'ê (= High Carts, Tölös, or early Ouigours) and the early Cathayans (Sien-pi) had very similar customs. Heikel gives an account of analogous 'Olympic games' witnessed at Urga in the year 1890." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, pp. 140-1.)

LI., p. 251. Read T'ung hwo period (A.D. 992) instead of (A.D. 692).

LII., pp. 252, 254, n. 3. "[The Tartars] live on the milk and meat which their herds supply, and on the produce of the chase; and they eat all kinds of flesh, including that of horses and dogs, and Pharaoh's rats, of which last there are great numbers in burrows on those plains."

Pharaoh's rat was the mangouste or ichneumon (*Herpestes ichneumon*) formerly found in this part of Asia as well as in Egypt where it was venerated. Cf. *Cathay*, II., p. 116.

LII., p. 254. Instead of "his tent invariably facing south," read "facing east" according to the *Chou Shu*. (PELLIOT.)

LII., p. 256 n.

#### MARRIAGE.

The *China Review*, Vol. XX. "gives numerous instances of marrying mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law amongst the Hiung nu. The practice was common with all Tartars, as, indeed, is stated by Yule." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 141.)

LII., p. 257 n.

#### TENGRI (HEAVEN).

"The Mongol word *Tengri* (= Heaven) appears also in Hiung-nu times; in fact, the word *shen yü* is stated to have been used by the Hiung-nu alternatively with *Tengri kudu* (Son of Heaven)." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 141.)

LIV., p. 263 n.

#### COATS OF MAIL.

Parker's note is erroneous.—See Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures*, Part I.

LV., p. 267. "They [the Tartars] have another notable custom, which is this. If any man have a daughter who dies before marriage, and another man have had a son also die before marriage, the parents of

the two arrange a grand wedding between the dead lad and lass. And marry them they do, making a regular contract! And when the contract papers are made out they put them in the fire, in order (as they will have it) that the parties in the other world may know the fact, and so look on each other as man and wife. And the parents thenceforward consider themselves sib to each other, just as if their children had lived and married. Whatever may be agreed on between the parties as dowry, those who have to pay it cause to be painted on pieces of paper and then put these in the fire, saying that in that way the dead person will get all the real articles in the other world."

Mr. KUMAGUSU MINAKATA writes on the subject in *Nature*, Jan. 7, 1897, pp. 224-5 :

"As it is not well known whether or not there is a record of this strange custom earlier than the beginning of the dynasty of Yuen, I was in doubt whether it was originally common to the Chinese and Tartars until I lately came across the following passage in *Tsoh-mung-luh* (Brit. Mus. copy, 15297, a I, fol. 11-12), which would seem to decide the question—'In the North there is this custom. When a youth and a girl of marriageable ages die before marriage, their families appoint a match-maker to negotiate their nuptials, whom they call "Kwei-mei" (*i.e.* "Match-Maker of Ghosts"). Either family hands over to another a paper noticing all pre-requisites concerning the affair; and by names of the parents of the intended couple asks a man to pray and divine; and if the presage tells that the union is a lucky one, clothes and ornaments are made for the deceased pair. Now the match-maker goes to the burying-ground of the bridegroom, and, offering wine and fruits, requests the pair to marry. There two seats are prepared on adjoining positions, either of which having behind it a small banner more than a foot long. Before the ceremony is consecrated by libation, the two banners remain hanging perpendicularly and still; but when the libation is sprinkled and the deceased couple are requested to marry, the banners commence to gradually approach till they touch one another, which shows that they are both glad of the wedlock. However, when one of them dislikes another, it would happen that the banner representing the unwilling party does not move to approach the other banner. In case the couple should die too young to understand the matter, a dead man is appointed as a tutor to the male defunct, and some effigies are made to serve as the instructress and maids to the female defunct. The dead tutor thus nominated is informed of his appointment by a paper offered to him, on which are inscribed his name and age. After



the consummation of the marriage the new consorts appear in dreams to their respective parents-in-law. Should this custom be discarded, the unhappy defuncts might do mischief to their negligent relatives. . . . On every occasion of these nuptials both families give some presents to the match-maker ("Kwei-mei"), whose sole business is annually to inspect the newly-deceased couples around his village, and to arrange their weddings to earn his livelihood."

Mr. Kumagusu Minakata adds :

"The passage is very interesting, for, besides giving us a faithful account of the particulars, which nowadays we fail to find elsewhere, it bears testimony to the Tartar, and not Chinese, origin of this practice. The author, Kang Yu-chi, describes himself to have visited his old home in Northern China shortly after its subjugation by the Kin Tartars in 1126 A.D. ; so there is no doubt that among many institutional novelties then introduced to China by the northern invaders, Marriage of the Dead was so striking that the author did not hesitate to describe it for the first time.

"According to a Persian writer, after whom Pétis de la Croix writes, this custom was adopted by Jenghiz Kân as a means to preserve amity amongst his subjects, it forming the subject of Article XIX. of his Yasa promulgated in 1205 A.D. The same writer adds : 'This custom is still in use amongst the Tartars at this day, but superstition has added more circumstances to it : they throw the contract of marriage into the fire after having drawn some figures on it to represent the persons pretended to be so marry'd, and some forms of beasts ; and are persuaded that all this is carried by the smoke to their children, who there-upon marry in the other world' (Pétis de la Croix, *Hist. of Genghiscan*, trans. by P. Aubin, Lond., 1722, p. 86). As the Chinese author does not speak of the burning of papers in this connection, whereas the Persian writer speaks definitely of its having been added later, it seems that the marriage of the dead had been originally a Tartar custom, with which the well-known Chinese paper-burning was amalgamated subsequently between the reigns of Genghiz and his grandson Kúblai—under the latter Marco witnessed the customs already mingled, still, perhaps, mainly prevailing amongst the Tartar descendants."

LV., p. 266. Regarding the scale of blows from seven to 107, Prof. Pelliot writes to me that these figures represent the theoretical number of tens diminished as a favour made to the culprit by three units in the name of Heaven, Earth and the Emperor.



LV., p. 268, n. 2. In the *Yuan Shi*, XX. 7, and other Chinese Texts of the Mongol period, is to be found confirmation of the fact, "He is slaughtered like a sheep," *i.e.* the belly cut open lengthwise. (PELLIOT.)

LVI., p. 269. "The people there are called MEScript; they are a very wild race, and live by their cattle, the most of which are stags, and these stags, I assure you, they used to ride upon."

B. Laufer, in the *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. IV., No. 2, 1917 (*The Reindeer and its Domestication*), p. 107, has the following remarks: "Certainly this is the reindeer. Yule is inclined to think that Marco embraces under this tribal name in question characteristics belonging to tribes extending far beyond the Mekrit, and which in fact are appropriate to the Tungus; and continues that Rashid-eddin seems to describe the latter under the name of Uriangkut of the Woods, a people dwelling beyond the frontier of Barguchin, and in connection with whom he speaks of their reindeer obscurely, as well as of their tents of birchbark, and their hunting on snowshoes. As W. Radloff [*Die Jakutische Sprache, Mém. Ac. Sc. Pet.*, 1908, pp. 54-56] has endeavoured to show, the Wooland Uryangkit, in this form mentioned by Rashid-eddin, should be looked upon as the forefathers of the present Yakut. Rashid-eddin, further, speaks of other Uryangkit, who are genuine Mongols, and live close together in the Territory Barguchin Tukum, where the clans Khori, Bargut, and Tumat, are settled. This region is east of Lake Baikal, which receives the river Barguchin flowing out of Lake Bargu in an easterly direction. The tribal name Bargut (-t being the termination of the plural) is surely connected with the name of the said river."

LVII., p. 276.

#### SINJU.

"Marco Polo's Sinju certainly seems to be the site of Si-ning, but not on the grounds suggested in the various notes. In 1099 the new city of Shen Chou was created by the Sung or 'Manzi' Dynasty on the site of what had been called Ts'ing-t'ang. Owing to this region having for many centuries belonged to independent Hia or Tangut, very little exact information is obtainable from any Chinese history; but I think it almost certain that the great central city of Shen Chou was the modern Si-ning. Moreover, there was a very good reason for the invention of this name, as this *Shen* was the first syllable of the ancient Shen-shen

State of Lob Nor and Koko Nor, which, after its conquest by China in 609, was turned into the Shen-shen prefecture ; in fact, the Sui Emperor was himself at Kam Chou or 'Campichu' when this very step was taken." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 144.)

LVIII., p. 282. *Alashan* is not an abbreviation of Alade-Shan and has nothing to do with the name of Eleuth, written in Mongol *Ögölät*. *Nuntuh* (*nüntük*) is the mediæval Mongol form of the actual *nutuk*, an encampment. (PELLIOT.)

LVIII., p. 283, n. 3.

#### GURUN.

Gurun = Kurun = Chinese K'u lun = Mongol Urga.

LVIII., p. 283, n. 3. The stuff *sa-ha-la* (= *saghlät*) is to be found often in the Chinese texts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries. (PELLIOT.)

LIX., pp. 284 *seq.*

#### KING GEORGE.

King or Prince George of Marco Polo and Monte Corvino belonged to the Öngüt tribe. He was killed in Mongolia in 1298, leaving an infant child called Shu-ngan (Giòvanni) baptized by Monte Corvino. George was transcribed Körgüz and Görgüz by the Persian historians. See PELLIOT, *T'oung Pao*, 1914, pp. 632 *seq.* and *Cathay*, III., p. 15 n.

LIX., p. 286.

#### TENDUC.

Prof. Pelliot (*Journ. As.*, Mai-Juin, 1912, pp. 595-6) thinks that it might be *T'ien tö*, 天德, on the river So ling (Selenga).

LIX., p. 291.

#### CHRISTIANS.

In the Mongol Empire, Christians were known under the name of *tarsa* and especially under this of *ärkägün*, in Chinese *ye-li-k'o-wen* ; *tarsa*, was generally used by the Persian historians. Cf. PELLIOT, *T'oung Pao*, 1914, p. 636.

LIX., p. 295, n. 6. Instead of *Ku-wei*, read *K'u-wai*. (PELLIOT.)

LXI., pp. 302, 310.

"The weather-conjuring proclivities of the Tartars are repeatedly mentioned in Chinese history. The High Carts (early Ouigours) and Jou-jan (masters of the Early Turks) were both given this way, the object being sometimes to destroy their enemies. I drew attention to this in the *Asiatic Quart. Rev.* for April, 1902 ('China and the Avars')." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 140.)

LXI., p. 305, n. Harlez's inscription is a miserable scribble of the facsimile from Dr. Bushell. (PELLIOT.)

LXI., p. 308, n. 5. The *Yuan Shi*, ch. 77, f° 7 v., says that : "Every year, [the Emperor] resorts to Shang tu. On the 24th day of the 8th moon, the sacrifice called 'libation of mare's milk' is celebrated." (PELLIOT.)





## BOOK SECOND



### PART I.—THE KAAH, HIS COURT AND CAPITAL





## BOOK SECOND.

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### PART I.—THE KAAH, HIS COURT AND CAPITAL.

II., p. 334.

#### NAYAN.

It is worthy of note that Nayan had given up Buddhism and become a Christian as well as many of his subjects. Cf. PELLIOU 1914, pp. 635-6.

VII., pp. 352, 353.

Instead of *Sir-i-Sher*, read *Sar-i-Sher*. (PELLIOU.)

#### P'AI TZŪ.

"Dr. Bushell's note describes the silver *p'ai*, or tablets (not then called *p'ai tsz*) of the Cathayans, which were 200 (not 600) in number. But long before the Cathayans used them, the T'ang Dynasty had done so for exactly the same purpose. They were 5 inches by 1½ inches, and marked with the five words, 'order, running horses, silver *p'ai*,' and were issued by the department known as the *mên-hia-shêng*. Thus, they were not a Tartar, but a Chinese, invention. Of course, it is possible that the Chinese must have had the idea suggested to them by the ancient wooden orders or tallies of the Tartars." (E. H. PARKER, *As. Quart. Review*, Jan., 1904, p. 146.)

Instead of "Publication No. 42" read only No. 42, which is the number of the *pai tzŭ*. (PELLIOU.)

VIII., p. 358, n. 2.

*Kün kü* = *hon hu* may be a transcription of *hwang heu* during the Mongol Period, according to Pelliot.

IX., p. 360.

### MONGOL IMPERIAL FAMILY.

"Marco Polo is correct in a way when he says Kúblái was the sixth Emperor, for his father Tu li is counted as a *Divus* (Jwei Tsung), though he never reigned; just as his son Chin kin (Yü Tsung) is also so counted, and under similar conditions. Chin kin was appointed to the *chung shu* and *shu-mih* departments in 1263. He was entrusted with extensive powers in 1279, when he is described as 'heir apparent.' In 1284 Yün Nan, Chagan-jang, etc., were placed under his direction. His death is recorded in 1285. Another son, Numugan, was made Prince of the Peking region (Pêh-p'ing) in 1266, and the next year a third son, Hukaji, was sent to take charge of Ta-li, Chagan-jang, Zardandan, etc. In 1272 Kúblái's son, Mangalai, was made Prince of An-si, with part of Shen Si as his appanage. One more son, named Ai-ya-ch'ih, is mentioned in 1284, and in that year yet another, Tu kan, was made Prince of Chên-nan, and sent on an expedition against Ciampa. In 1285 Essen Temur, who had received a *chung-shu* post in 1283, is spoken of as Prince of Yün Nan, and is stated to be engaged in Kara-jang; in 1286 he is still there, and is styled 'son of the Emperor.' I do not observe in the Annals that Hukaji ever bore the title of Prince of Yün Nan, or, indeed, any princely title. In 1287 Ai-ya-ch'ih is mentioned as being at Shên Chou (Mukden) in connection with Kúblái's 'personally conducted' expedition against Nayen. In 1289 one more son, Géukju, was patented Prince of Ning Yüan. In 1293 Kúblái's *third son*, Chinkin, received a posthumous title, and Chinkin's son Temur was declared heir-apparent to Kúblái.

"The above are the only sons of Kúblái whose names I have noticed in the Annals. In the special table of Princes Numugan is styled Pêh-an (instead of Pêh-p'ing) Prince. Aghrukji's name appears in the table (chap. 108, p. 107), but though he is styled Prince of Si-p'ing, he is not there stated to be a son of Kúblái; nor in the note I have supplied touching Tibet is he styled a *hwang-tsz* or 'imperial son.' In the table Hukaji is described as being in 1268 Prince of Yün Nan, a title 'inherited in 1280 by Essen Temur.' I cannot discover anything about the other alleged sons in Yule's note (Vol. I., p. 361). The Chinese count Kúblái's years as eighty, he having died just at the beginning of 1294 (our February); this would make him seventy-nine at the very outside, according to our mode of reckoning, or even seventy-eight

if he was born towards the end of a year, which indeed he was (eighth moon). If a man is born on the last day of the year he is two years old the very next day according to Chinese methods of counting, which, I suppose, include the ten months which they consider are spent in the womb." (E. H. PARKER, *As. Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, pp. 137-139.)

XI., p. 370, n. 13.

The character *King* in *King-shan* is not the one representing Court 京 but 景.—Read "Wan-sui-Shan" instead of *Wan-su-Shan*.

XII., p. 380.

*Keshikten* has nothing to do with *Kalchi*. (PELLIOT.)

XVIII., p. 398.

#### THE CHEETA, OR HUNTING LEOPARD.

Cf. Chapters on Hunting Dogs and Cheetas, being an extract from the "*Kitab' l-Bazyarah*," a treatise on Falconry, by *Ibn Kustrajim*, an Arab writer of the Tenth Century. By Lieut.-Colonel D. C. Phillott and Mr. R. F. Azoo (*Journ. and Proc. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Jan., 1907, pp. 47-50):

"The cheeta is the offspring of a lioness, by a leopard that coerces her, and, for this reason, cheetas are sterile like mules and all other hybrids. No animal of the same size is as weighty as the cheeta. It is the most somnolent animal on earth. The best are those that are 'hollow-bellied,' roach backed, and have deep black spots on a dark tawny ground, the spots on the back being close to each other; that have the eyes blood-shot, small and narrow; the mouth 'deep and laughing'; broad foreheads; thick necks; the black line from the eyes long; and the fangs far apart from each other. The fully mature animal is more useful for sporting purposes than the cub; and the females are better at hunting than are the males, and such is the case with all beasts and birds of prey."

See Hippolyte Boussac, *Le Guépard dans l'Egypte ancienne* (*La Nature*, 21st March, 1908, pp. 248-250).

XIX., p. 400 n. Instead of *Hoy tiao*, read *Hey tiao* (*Hei tiao*).

XIX., p. 400. "These two are styled *Chinuchi* (or *Cunichi*), which is as much as to say, 'The Keepers of the Mastiff Dogs.'"

Dr. Laufer writes to me: "The word *chinuchi* is a Mongol



term derived from Mongol *činoa* (pronounced *čino* or *čono*), which means 'wolf,' with the possessive suffix *-či*, meaning accordingly a 'wolf-owner' or 'wolf-keeper.' One of the Tibetan designations for the mastiff is *čang-k'i* (written *spyang-k'yi*), which signifies literally 'wolf-dog.' The Mongol term is probably framed on this Tibetan word. The other explanations given by Yule (401-402) should be discarded."

Prof. Pelliot writes to me: "J'incline à croire que les *Cunichi* sont à lire *Cuiuci* et répondent au *kouei-tch'e* ou *kouei-yeou-tch'e*, 'censeurs,' des textes chinois; les formes chinoises sont transcrites du mongol et se rattachent au verbe *güyü*, ou *güyi*, 'courir'; on peut songer à restituer *güyükc'i*. Un *Ming-ngan* (= *Minghan*), chef des *kouei-tch'e*, vivait sous Kúblái et a sa biographie au ch. 135 du *Yuan Che*; d'autre part, peut-être faut-il lire, par déplacement de deux points diacritiques, *Bayan güyükc'i* dans Rashid ed-Din, ed. BLOCHET, II., 501."

XX., p. 408, n. 6. *Cachar Modun* must be the place called *Ha-ch'a-mu-touen* in the *Yuan Shi*, ch. 100, f°. 2 r. (PELLIOT.)

XXIV., pp. 423, 430. "Bark of Trees, made into something like Paper, to pass for Money over all his Country."

Regarding Bretschneider's statement, p. 430, Dr. B. Laufer writes to me: "This is a singular error of Bretschneider. Marco Polo is perfectly correct: not only did the Chinese actually manufacture paper from the bark of the mulberry tree (*Morus alba*), but also it was this paper which was preferred for the making of paper-money. Bretschneider is certainly right in saying that paper is made from the *Broussonetia*, but he is assuredly wrong in the assertion that paper is not made in China from mulberry trees. This fact he could have easily ascertained from S. Julien,<sup>1</sup> who alludes to mulberry tree paper twice, first, as 'papier de racines et d'écorce de mûrier,' and, second, in speaking of the bark paper from *Broussonetia*: 'On emploie aussi pour le même usage l'écorce d'*Hibiscus Rosa sinensis* et de mûrier; ce dernier papier sert encore à recueillir les graines de vers à soie.' What is understood by the latter process may be seen from Plate I. in Julien's earlier work on sericulture,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Industries anciennes et modernes de l'Empire chinois*. Paris, 1869, pp. 145, 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Résumé des principaux Traités chinois sur la culture des mûriers et l'éducation des vers à soie*, Paris, 1837, p. 98. According to the notions of the Chinese, Julien remarks, everything made from hemp like cord and weavings is banished from the

where the paper from the bark of the mulberry tree is likewise mentioned.

"The *Chi p'u*, a treatise on paper, written by Su I-kien toward the close of the tenth century, enumerates among the various sorts of paper manufactured during his lifetime paper from the bark of the mulberry tree (*sang p'i*) made by the people of the north.<sup>1</sup>

"Chinese paper-money of mulberry bark was known in the Islamic World in the beginning of the fourteenth century ; that is, during the Mongol period. Accordingly it must have been manufactured in China during the Yüan Dynasty. Ahmed Shibab Eddin, who died in Cairo in 1338 at the age of 93, and left an important geographical work in thirty volumes, containing interesting information on China gathered from the lips of eye-witnesses, makes the following comment on paper-money, in the translation of Ch. Schefer :<sup>2</sup>

"'On emploie dans le Khita, en guise de monnaie, des morceaux d'un papier de forme allongée fabriqué avec des filaments de mûriers sur lesquels est imprimé le nom de l'empereur. Lorsqu'un de ces papiers est usé, on le porte aux officiers du prince et, moyennant une perte minime, on reçoit un autre billet en échange, ainsi que cela a lieu dans nos hôtels des monnaies, pour les matières d'or et d'argent que l'on y porte pour être converties en pièces monnayées.'

"And in another passage : 'La monnaie des Chinois est faite de billets fabriqués avec l'écorce du mûrier. Il y en a de grands et de petits. . . . Ou les fabrique avec des filaments tendres du mûrier et, après y avoir opposé un sceau au nom de l'empereur, on les met en circulation.'<sup>3</sup>

"The banknotes of the Ming Dynasty were likewise made of mulberry pulp, in rectangular sheets one foot long and six inches wide, the material being of a greenish colour, as stated in the *Annals of the Dynasty*.<sup>4</sup> It is clear that the Ming Emperors,

establishments where silkworms are reared, and our European paper would be very harmful to the latter. There seems to be a sympathetic relation between the silkworm feeding on the leaves of the mulberry and the mulberry paper on which the cocoons of the females are placed.

<sup>1</sup> *Ko chi king yüan*, Ch. 37, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Relations des Musulmans avec les Chinois (Centenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales vivantes*, Paris, 1895, p. 17).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ming Shi*, Ch. 81, p. 1.—The same text is found on a bill issued in 1375 reproduced and translated by W. Vissering (*On Chinese Currency*, see plate at end of volume), the minister of finance being expressly ordered to use the fibres of the mulberry tree in the composition of these bills.



like many other institutions, adopted this practice from their predecessors, the Mongols. Klaproth<sup>1</sup> is wrong in saying that the assignats of the Sung, Kin, and Mongols were all made from the bark of the tree *çu* (*Broussonetia*), and those of the Ming from all sorts of plants.

"In the *Hui kiang chi*, an interesting description of Turkistan by two Manchu officials, Surde and Fusambô, published in 1772,<sup>2</sup> the following note headed 'Mohamedan Paper' occurs:

"There are two sorts of Turkistan paper, black and white, made from mulberry bark, cotton and silk refuse equally mixed, resulting in a coarse, thick, strong, and tough material. It is cut into small rolls fully a foot long, which are burnished by means of stones, and then are fit for writing."

"Sir Aurel Stein<sup>3</sup> reports that paper is still manufactured from mulberry trees in Khotan. Also J. Wiesner,<sup>4</sup> the meritorious investigator of ancient papers, has included the fibres of *Morus alba* and *M. nigra* among the material to which his researches extended.

"Mulberry-bark paper is ascribed to Bengal in the *Si yang ch'ao kung tien lu* by Wu Kiên-hwang, published in 1520.<sup>5</sup>

"As the mulberry tree is eagerly cultivated in Persia in connection with the silk industry, it is possible also that the Persian paper in the banknotes of the Mongols was a product of the mulberry.<sup>6</sup> At any rate, good Marco Polo is cleared, and his veracity and exactness have been established again."

#### XXIV., p. 427.

#### VALUE OF GOLD.

"L'or valait quatre fois son poids d'argent au commencement de la dynastie Ming (1375), sept ou huit fois sous l'empereur

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, Vol. I., p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> A. WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 64. The copy used by me (in the John Crerar Library of Chicago) is an old manuscript clearly written in 4 vols. and chapters, illustrated by nine ink-sketches of types of Mohammedans and a map. The volumes are not paged.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I., p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> *Mikroskopische Untersuchung alter ostturkestanischer Papiere*, p. 9 (Vienna, 1902). I cannot pass over in silence a curious error of this scholar when he says (p. 8) that it is not proved that *Cannabis sativa* (called by him "genuine hemp") is cultivated in China, and that the so-called Chinese hemp-paper should be intended for China grass. Every tyro in things Chinese knows that hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) belongs to the oldest cultivated plants of the Chinese, and that hemp-paper is already listed among the papers invented by Ts'ai Lun in A.D. 105 (cf. CHAVANNES, *Les livres chinois avant l'invention du papier*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1905, p. 6 of the reprint).

<sup>5</sup> Ch. B., p. 10b (ed. of *Pie hia chai ts'ung shu*).

<sup>6</sup> The Persian word for the mulberry, *iūd*, is supposed to be a loan-word from Aramaic. (HORN, *Grundriss iran. Phil.*, Vol. I., pt. 2, p. 6.)



Wan-li de la même dynastie (1574), et dix fois à la fin de la dynastie (1635); plus de dix fois sous K'ang hi (1662); plus de vingt fois sous le règne de K'ien long; dix-huit fois au milieu du règne de Tao-koang (1840), quatorze fois au commencement du règne de Hien-fong (1850); dix-huit fois en moyenne dans les années 1882-1883. En 1893, la valeur de l'or augmenta considérablement et égala 28 fois celle de l'argent; en 1894, 32 fois; au commencement de 1895, 33 fois; mais il baissa un peu et à la fin de l'année il valait seulement 30 fois plus." (Pierre HOANG, *La Propriété en Chine*, 1897, p. 43.)

XXVI., p. 432.

### CHING SIANG.

Morrison, *Dict.*, Pt. II., Vol. I., p. 70, says: "Chin-seang, a Minister of State, was so called under the Ming Dynasty." According to Mr. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, XXIV., p. 101), *Ching Siang* were abolished in 1395.

In the quotation from the *Masalak al Absar* instead of *Landjun* (Lang Chang), read *Landjun* (Lang Chung).

XXXIII., pp. 447-8. "You must know, too, that the Tartars reckon their years by twelves; the sign of the first year being the Lion, of the second the Ox, of the third the Dragon, of the fourth the Dog, and so forth up to the twelfth; so that when one is asked the year of his birth he answers that it was in the year of the Lion (let us say), on such a day or night, at such an hour, and such a moment. And the father of a child always takes care to write these particulars down in a book. When the twelve yearly symbols have been gone through, then they come back to the first, and go through with them again in the same succession."

"Ce témoignage, writes Chavannes (*Toung Pao*, 1906, p. 59), n'est pas d'une exactitude rigoureuse, puisque les animaux n'y sont pas nommés à leur rang; en outre, le lion y est substitué au tigre de l'énumération chinoise; mais cette dernière différence provient sans doute de ce que Marco Polo connaissait le cycle avec les noms mongols des animaux; c'est le léopard dont il a fait le lion. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'observation de Marco Polo est juste dans son ensemble et d'innombrables exemples prouvent que le cycle des douze animaux était habituel dans les pièces officielles émanant des chancelleries impériales à l'époque mongole."

XXXIII., p. 448.

## PERSIAN.

With regard to the knowledge of Persian, the only oriental language probably known by Marco Polo, Pelliot remarks (*Journ. Asiat.*, Mai-Juin, 1912, p. 592 n.): "C'est l'idée de Yule (cf. par exemple I., 448), et je la crois tout à fait juste. On peut la fortifier d'autres indices. On sait par exemple que Marco Polo substitue le lion au tigre dans le cycle des douze animaux. M. Chavannes (*T'oung pao*, II., VII., 59) suppose que 'cette dernière différence provient sans doute de ce que Marco Polo connaissait le cycle avec les noms mongols des animaux : c'est le léopard dont il a fait le lion.' Mais on ne voit pas pourquoi il aurait rendu par 'lion' le turco-mongol *bars*, qui signifie seulement 'tigre.' Admettons au contraire qu'il pense en persan : dans toute l'Asie centrale, le persan شیر *šīr* a les deux sens de lion et de tigre. De même, quand Marco Polo appelle la Chine du sud Manzi, il est d'accord avec les Persans, par exemple avec Rachid ed-din, pour employer l'expression usuelle dans la langue chinoise de l'époque, c'est-à-dire Man-tseu ; mais, au lieu de Manzi, les Mongols avaient adopté un autres nom, Nangias, dont il n'y a pas trace dans Marco Polo. On pourrait multiplier ces exemples."

XXXIII., p. 456, n. Instead of *Hui Heng*, read *Hin Heng*.

## BOOK SECOND.

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### PART II.—JOURNEY TO THE WEST AND SOUTH-WEST OF CATHAY.

XXXVII., p. 13. "There grow here [Taianfu] many excellent vines, supplying great plenty of wine; and in all Cathay this is the only place where wine is produced. It is carried hence all over the country."

Dr. B. Laufer makes the following remarks to me: "Polo is quite right in ascribing vines and wine to T'ai Yüan-fu in Shan Si, and is in this respect upheld by contemporary Chinese sources. The *Yin shan cheng yao* written in 1330 by Ho Se-hui, contains this account<sup>1</sup>: 'There are numerous brands of wine: that coming from Qara-Khodja<sup>2</sup> (Ha-la-hwo) is very strong, that coming from Tibet ranks next. Also the wines from P'ing Yang and T'ai Yüan (in Shan Si) take the second rank. According to some statements, grapes, when stored for a long time, will develop into wine through a natural process. This wine is fragrant, sweet, and exceedingly strong: this is the genuine grape-wine.' *Ts'ao mu tse*, written in 1378 par Ye Tse-k'i,<sup>3</sup> contains the following information: 'Under the Yüan Dynasty grape-wine was manufactured in Ki-ning and other circuits of Shan Si Province. In the eighth month they went to the T'ai hang Mountain,<sup>4</sup> in order to test the genuine and adulterated brands: the genuine

<sup>1</sup> *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, Ch. 25, p. 14b.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding this name and its history, see PELLIOU, *Journ. Asiatique*, 1912, I., p. 582. Qara Khodja was celebrated for its abundance of grapes. (BRETSCHNEIDER, *Medieval Res.*, I., p. 65.) J. DUDGEON (*The Beverages of the Chinese*, p. 27) misreading it Ha-so-hwo, took it for the designation of a sort of wine. STUART (*Chinese Materia Medica*, p. 459) mistakes it for a transliteration of "hollands," or may be "alcohol." The latter word has never penetrated into China in any form.

<sup>3</sup> This work is also the first that contains the word *a-la-ki*, from Arabic 'araq. (See *T'oung Pao*, 1916, p. 483.)

<sup>4</sup> A range of mountains separating Shan Si from Chi li and Ho Nan,



kind when water is poured on it, will float ; the adulterated sort, when thus treated, will freeze.<sup>1</sup> In wine which has long been stored, there is a certain portion which even in extreme cold will never freeze, while all the remainder is frozen : this is the spirit and fluid secretion of wine.<sup>2</sup> If this is drunk, the essence will penetrate into a man's armpits, and he will die. Wine kept for two or three years develops great poison." For a detailed history of grape-wine in China, see Laufer's *Sino-Iranica*.

XXXVII., p. 16.

#### VINE.

Chavannes (*Chancellerie chinoise de l'époque mongole*, II., pp. 66-68, 1908) has a long note on vine and grape wine-making in China, from Chinese sources. We know that vine, according to Sze-ma Ts'ien, was imported from Farghânah about 100 B.C. The Chinese, from texts in the *T'ai ping yu lan* and the *Yuan Kien lei han*, learned the art of wine-making after they had defeated the King of Kao ch'ang (Turfan) in 640 A.D.

XLI., p. 27 *seq.*

#### CHRISTIAN MONUMENT AT SI-NGAN FU.

The slab *King kiao pei*, bearing the inscription, was found, according to Father Havret, 2nd Pt., p. 71, in the sub-prefecture of Chau Chi, a dependency of Si-ngan fu, among ancient ruins. Prof. Pelliot says that the slab was not found at Chau Chi, but in the western suburb of Si-ngan, at the very spot where it was to be seen some years ago, before it was transferred to the *Pei lin*, in fact at the place where it was erected in the seventh century inside the monastery built by Olopun. (*Chrétien de l'Asie centrale*, *T'oung pao*, 1914, p. 625.)

In 1907, a Danish gentleman, Mr. Frits V. Holm, took a photograph of the tablet as it stood outside the west gate of Si-ngan, south of the road to Kan Su ; it was one of five slabs on the same spot ; it was removed without the stone pedestal (a tortoise) into the city on the 2nd October 1907, and it is now kept in the museum known as the *Pei lin* (Forest of Tablets). Holm says it is ten feet high, the weight being two tons ; he tried to purchase the original, and failing this he had an exact replica made by Chinese workmen ; this replica was deposited in

<sup>1</sup> This is probably a phantasy. We can make nothing of it, as it is not stated how the adulterated wine was made.

<sup>2</sup> This possibly is the earliest Chinese allusion to alcohol.

the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the City of New York, as a loan, on the 16th of June, 1908. Since, this replica was purchased by Mrs. George Leary, of 1053, Fifth Avenue, New York, and presented by this lady, through Frits Holm, to the Vatican. See the November number (1916) of the *Boll. della R. Soc. Geog. Italiana*. "The original Nestorian Tablet of A.D. 781, as well as my replica, made in 1907," Holm writes, "are both carved from the stone quarries of Fu Ping Hien; the material is a black, sub-granular limestone with small oolithes scattered through it" (Frits V. Holm, *The Nestorian Monument*, Chicago, 1900). In this pamphlet there is a photograph of the tablet as it stands in the Pei lin.

Prof. Ed. Chavannes, who also visited Si-ngan in 1907, saw the Nestorian Monument; in the album of his *Mission archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*, Paris, 1909, he has given (Plate 445) photographs of the five tablets, the tablet itself, the western gate of the western suburb of Si-ngan, and the entrance of the temple *Kin Sheng Sze*.

Cf. Notes, pp. 105-113 of Vol. I. of the second edition of *Cathay and the Way thither*.

II., p. 27.

#### KHUMDAN.

Cf. *Kumudana*, given by the Sanskrit-Chinese vocabulary found in Japan (Max MÜLLER, *Buddhist Texts from Japan*, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, t. I., part I., p. 9), and the *Khumdan* and *Khumadan* of Theophylactus. (See TOMASCHEK, in *Wiener Z. M.*, t. III., p. 105; Marquart, *Erānšahr*, pp. 316-7; *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, pp. 89-90.) (PELLIOT.)

XLI., p. 29 n. The vocabulary *Hwei Hwei* (Mahomedan) of the College of Interpreters at Peking transcribes King chao from the Persian Kin-chang, a name it gives to the Shen-si province. King chao was called Ngan-si fu in 1277. (DEVÉRIA, *Epigraphie*, p. 9.) Ken jan comes from Kin-chang = King-chao = Si-ngan fu.

Prof. Pelliot writes, *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, IV., July-Sept., 1904, p. 29: "Cette note de M. Cordier n'est pas exacte. Sous les Song, puis sous les Mongols jusqu'en 1277, Si-ngan fou fut appelé King-tchao fou. Le vocabulaire *houei-houi* ne transcrit pas 'King-tchao du persan kin-tchang,' mais, comme les Persans appelaient alors Si-ngan fou Kindjanfou (le Kenjanfu de Marco Polo), cette forme *persane* est à son tour

transcrite phonétiquement en chinois Kin-tchang fou, sans que les caractères choisis jouent là aucun rôle sémantique ; Kin-tchang fou n'existe pas dans la géographie chinoise. Quant à l'origine de la forme persane, il est possible, mais non par sûr, que ce soit King-tchao fou. La forme 'Quen-zan-fou,' qu'un écolier chinois du Chen Si fournit à M. von Richthofen comme le nom de Singan fou au temps des Yuan, doit avoir été fautivement recueillie. Il me paraît impossible qu'un Chinois d'une province quelconque prononce *zan* le caractère 兆 *tchao*."

XLI., p. 29 n. A clause in the edict also orders the *foreign bonzes of Ta T'sin and Mubupa* (Christian and *Mobed* or Magian) *to return to secular life.*

*Mubupa* has no doubt been derived by the etymology *mobed*, but it is faulty ; it should be *Muhupa*. (PELLIOT, *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, IV., July-Sept., 1904, p. 771.) Pelliot writes to me that there is now no doubt that it is derived from *mu-lu hien* and that it must be understood as the "[religion of] the Celestial God of the Magi."

XLIII., p. 32.

"The *chien-tao*, or 'pillar road,' mentioned, should be *chan-tao*, or 'scaffolding road.' The picture facing p. 50 shows how the shoring up or scaffolding is effected. The word *chan* is still in common use all over the Empire, and in 1267 Kúblái ordered this identical road ('Sz Ch'wan *chan-tao*') to be repaired. There are many such roads in Sz Ch'wan besides the original one from Han-chung-Fu." (E. H. PARKER, *As. Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 144.)

XLIV., p. 36. SINDAFU (Ch'êng tu fu).—Through the midst of this great city runs a large river. . . . It is a good half-mile wide. . . .

"It is probable that in the thirteenth century, when Marco Polo was on his travels, the 'great river a good half-mile wide,' flowing past Chengtu, was the principal stream ; but in the present day that channel is insignificant in comparison to the one which passes by Ta Hsien, Yung-Chia Chong, and Hsin-Chin Hsien. Of course, these channels are stopped up or opened as occasion requires. As a general rule, they follow such contour lines as will allow gravitation to conduct the water to levels as high as is possible, and when it is desired to raise it higher than it will naturally flow, chain-pumps and enormous



undershot water-wheels of bamboo are freely employed. Water-power is used for driving mills through the medium of wheels, undershot or overshot, or turbines, as the local circumstances may demand." (R. Logan JACK, *Back Blocks*, p. 55.)

XLIV., p. 36.

#### SINDAFU.

"The story of the 'three Kings' of Sindafu is probably in this wise: For nearly a century the Wu family (Wu Kiai, Wu Lin, and Wu Hi) had ruled as semi-independent Sung or 'Manzi' Viceroy of Sz Ch'wan, but in 1206 the last-named, who had fought bravely for the Sung (Manzi) Dynasty against the northern Dynasty of the Nüchên Tartars (successors to Cathay), surrendered to this same Kin or Golden Dynasty of Nüchêns or Early Manchus, and was made King of Shuh (Sz Ch'wan). In 1236, Ogdaï's son, K'wei-t'eng, effected the partial conquest of Shuh, entering the capital, Chêng-tu Fu (Sindafu), towards the close of the same year. But in 1259 Mangu in person had to go over part of the same ground again. He proceeded up the rapids, and in the seventh moon attacked Ch'ung K'ing, but about a fortnight later he died at a place called Tiao-yü Shan, apparently near the Tiao-yü Ch'êng of my map (p. 175 of *Up the Yangtze*, 1881), where I was myself in the year 1881. Colonel Yule's suggestion that Marco's allusion is to the tripartite Empire of China 1000 years previously is surely wide of the mark. The 'three brothers' were probably Kiai, Lin, and T'ing, and Wu Hi was the son of Wu T'ing. An account of Wu Kiai is given in Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual*." (E. H. PARKER, *As. Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, pp. 144-5.)

Cf. MAYERS, No. 865, p. 259, and GILES, *Biog. Dict.*, No. 2324, p. 880.

XLIV., p. 38.

#### SINDAFU.

Tch'eng Tu was the capital of the Kingdom of Shu. The first Shu Dynasty was the Minor Han Dynasty which lasted from A.D. 221 to A.D. 263; this Shu Dynasty was one of the Three Kingdoms (*San Kwo chi*); the two others being Wei (A.D. 220-264) reigning at Lo Yang, and Wu (A.D. 222-277) reigning at Kien Kang (Nan King). The second was the Ts'ien Shu Dynasty, founded in 907 by Wang Kien, governor of Sze Chw'an since 891; it lasted till 925, when it submitted to the

Hau T'ang ; in 933 the Hau T'ang were compelled to grant the title of King of Shu (Hau Shu) to Mong Chi-siang, governor of Sze Chw'an, who was succeeded by Mong Ch'ang, dethroned in 965 ; the capital was also Ch'eng Tu under these two dynasties.

### TIBET.

XLV., p. 44. No man of that country would on any consideration take to wife a girl who was a maid ; for they say a wife is nothing worth unless she has been used to consort with men. And their custom is this, that when travellers come that way, the old women of the place get ready, and take their unmarried daughters or other girls related to them, and go to the strangers who are passing, and make over the young women to whomsoever will accept them ; and the travellers take them accordingly and do their pleasure ; after which the girls are restored to the old women who brought them. . . .

Speaking of the Sifan village of Po Lo and the account given by Marco Polo of the customs of these people, M. R. Logan JACK (*Back Blocks*, 1904, pp. 145-6) writes : "I freely admit that the good looks and modest bearing of the girls were the chief merits of the performance in my eyes. Had the *danseuses* been scrubbed and well dressed, they would have been a presentable body of *débutantes* in any European ballroom. One of our party, frivolously disposed, asked a girl (through an interpreter) if she would marry him and go to his country. The reply, 'I do not know you, sir,' was all that propriety could have demanded in the best society, and worthy of a pupil 'finished' at Miss Pinkerton's celebrated establishment. . . . Judging from our experience, no idea of hospitalities of the kind [Marco's experience] was in the people's minds."

XLV., p. 45. Speaking of the people of Tibet, Polo says : "They are very poorly clad, for their clothes are only of the skins of beasts, and of canvas, and of buckram."

Add to the note, I., p. 48, n. 5 :—

"Au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le bougran [buckram] était une espèce de tissu de lin : le meilleur se fabriquait en Arménie et dans le royaume de Mélibar, s'il faut s'en rapporter à Marco Polo, qui nous apprend que les habitants du Thibet, qu'il signale comme pauvrement vêtus, l'étaient de canevas et de bougran, et que cette dernière étoffe se fabriquait aussi dans la province d'Abasce.

Il en venait également de l'île de Chypre. Sorti des manufactures d'Espagne ou importé dans le royaume, à partir de 1442, date d'une ordonnance royale publiée par le P. Saez, le bougran le plus fin payait soixante-dix maravédis de droits, sans distinction de couleur" (FRANCISQUE-MICHEL, *Recherches sur le commerce, la fabrication et l'usage des étoffes de soie, d'or et d'argent*. . . II., 1854, pp. 33-4). Passage mentioned by Dr. Laufer.

XLV., pp. 46 n., 49 *seq.*

Referring to Dr. E. Bretschneider, Prof. E. H. Parker gives the following notes in the *Asiatic Quart. Review*, Jan., 1904, p. 131: "In 1251 Ho-êrh-t'ai was appointed to the command of the Mongol and Chinese forces advancing on Tibet (T'u-fan). [In my copy of the *Yüan Shih* there is no entry under the year 1254 such as that mentioned by Bretschneider; it may, however, have been taken by Palladius from some other chapter.] In 1268 Mang-ku-tai was ordered to invade the Si-fan (outer Tibet) and *Kien-tu* [Marco's Caindu] with 6000 men. Bretschneider, however, omits *Kien-tu*, and also omits to state that in 1264 eighteen Si-fan clans were placed under the superintendence of the *an-fu-sz* (governor) of An-si Chou, and that in 1265 a reward was given to the troops of the decachiliarch Hwang-li-t'a-rh for their services against the T'u fan, with another reward to the troops under Prince Ye-suh-pu-hwa for their successes against the Si-fan. Also that in 1267 the Si-fan chieftains were encouraged to submit to Mongol power, in consequence of which A-nu-pan-ti-ko was made Governor-General of Ho-wu and other regions near it. Bretschneider's next item after the doubtful one of 1274 is in 1275, as given by Cordier, but he omits to state that in 1272 Mang-ku-tai's eighteen clans and other T'u-fan troops were ordered in hot haste to attack Sin-an Chou, belonging to the *Kien-tu* prefecture; and that a post-station called Ning-ho Yih was established on the T'u-fan and Si-Ch'wan [= Sz Ch'wan] frontier. In 1275 a number of Princes, including Chi-pi T'ie-mu-r, and Mang-u-la, Prince of An-si, were sent to join the Prince of Si-p'ing [Kúblái's son] Ao-lu-ch'ih in his expedition against the Tu-fau. In 1276 all Si-fan bonzes (lamas) were forbidden to carry arms, and the Tu-fan city of Hata was turned into Ning-yüan Fu [as it now exists]; garrisons and civil authorities were placed in *Kien-tu* and Lo-lo-sz [the Lolo country]. In 1277 a Customs station was established at



Tiao-mên and Li-Chou [Ts'ing-k'i Hien in Ya-chou Fu] for the purposes of Tu-fan trade. In 1280 more Mongol troops were sent to the Li Chou region, and a special officer was appointed for T'u-fan [Tibetan] affairs at the capital. In 1283 a high official was ordered to print the official documents connected with the *süan-wei-sz* [governorship] of T'u-fan. In 1288 six provinces, including those of Sz Chw'an and An-si, were ordered to contribute financial assistance to the *süan-wei-shi* [governor] of U-sz-tsang [the indigenous name of Tibet proper]. Every year or two after this, right up to 1352, there are entries in the Mongol Annals amply proving that the conquest of Tibet under the Mongols was not only complete, but fully narrated; however, there is no particular object in carrying the subject here beyond the date of Marco's departure from China. There are many mentions of Kien-tu (which name dates from the Sung Dynasty) in the *Yüan-shi*; it is the Kien-ch'ang Valley of to-day, with capital at Ning-yüan, as clearly marked on Bretschneider's Map. Baber's suggestion of the *Chan-tui* tribe of Tibetans is quite obsolete, although Baber was one of the first to explore the region in person. A petty tribe like the *Chan-tui* could never have given name to *Caindu*; besides, both initials and finals are impossible, and the *Chan-tui* have never lived there. I have myself met Si-fan chiefs at Peking; they may be described roughly as Tibetans *not under* the Tibetan Government. The T'u-fan, T'u-po, or Tubot, were the Tibetans *under Tibetan rule*, and they are now usually styled 'Si-tsang' by the Chinese. Yaci [Yä-ch'ih, Ya-ch'ï] is frequently mentioned in the *Yüan-shi*, and the whole of Devéria's quotation given by Cordier on p. 72 appears there [chap. 121, p. 5], besides a great deal more to the point, without any necessity for consulting the *Lei pien*. Cowries, under the name of *pa-tsz*, are mentioned in both Mongol and Ming history as being in use for money in Siam and Yung-ch'ang [Vociam]. The porcelain coins which, as M. Cordier quotes from me on p. 74, I myself saw current in the Shan States or Siam about ten years ago, were of white China, with a blue figure, and about the size of a Keating's cough lozenge, but thicker. As neither form of the character *pa* appears in any dictionary, it is probably a foreign word only locally understood. Regarding the origin of the name Yung-ch'ang, the discussions upon p. 105 are no longer necessary; in the eleventh moon of 1272 [say about January 1, 1273] Kúblái 'presented the name Yung-ch'ang to the new city built by Prince Chi-pi T'ie-mu-r.'

XLVI., p. 49. They have also in this country [Tibet] plenty of fine woollens and other stuffs, and many kinds of spices are produced there which are never seen in our country.

Dr. Laufer draws my attention to the fact that this translation does not give exactly the sense of the French text, which runs thus :

“Et encore voz di qe en ceste provence a gianbelot [camelot] assez et autres dras d'or et de soie, et hi naist maintes especes qe unques ne furent veue en nostre país.” (*Ed. Soc. de Géog.*, Chap. cxvi., p. 128.)

In the Latin text (*Ibid.*, p. 398), we have :

“In ista provincia sunt giambelloti satis et alii panni de sirico et auro ; et ibi nascuntur multæ species quæ nunquam fuerunt visæ in nostris contractis.”

Francisque-Michel (*Recherches*, II., p. 44) says : “Les Tartares fabriquaient aussi à Aias de très-beaux camelots de poil de chameau, que l'on expédiait pour divers pays, et Marco Polo nous apprend que cette denrée était fort abondante dans le Thibet. Au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, il en venait de l'île de Chypre.”

XLVII., pp. 50, 52.

#### WILD OXEN CALLED BEYAMINI.

Dr. Laufer writes to me : “Yule correctly identifies the ‘wild oxen’ of Tibet with the gayal (*Bos gavaeus*), but I do not believe that his explanation of the word *beyamini* (from an artificially constructed *buemini* = Bohemian) can be upheld. Polo states expressly that these wild oxen are called *beyamini* (scil. by the natives), and evidently alludes to a native Tibetan term. The gayal is styled in Tibetan *ba-men* (or *ba-man*), derived from *ba* (‘cow’), a diminutive form of which is *beu*. Marco Polo appears to have heard some dialectic form of this word like *beu-men* or *beu-min*.”

XLVIII., p. 70.

#### KIUNG TU AND KIEN TU.

Kiung tu or Kiang tu is Caidu in Sze-Ch'wan ; Kien tu is in Yun Nan. Cf. PELLiot, *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, July-Sept., 1904, p. 771. Caidu or Ning Yuan was, under the Mongols, a dependency of Yun Nan, not of Sze Ch'wan. (PELLiot.)



XLVIII., p. 72. The name *Karajáng*. "The first element was the Mongol or Turki *Kárdá*. . . . Among the inhabitants of this country some are black, and others are white; these latter are called by the Mongols *Chaghán-Jáng* ('White Jang'). Jang has not been explained; but probably it may have been a Tibetan term adopted by the Mongols, and the colours may have applied to their clothing."

Dr. Berthold Laufer, of Chicago, has a note on the subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Oct., 1915, pp. 781-4: "M. Pelliot (*Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient.*, IV., 1904, p. 159) proposed to regard the unexplained name *Jang* as the Mongol transcription of *Ts'uan*, the ancient Chinese designation of the Lo-lo, taken from the family name of one of the chiefs of the latter; he gave his opinion, however, merely as an hypothesis which should await confirmation. I now believe that Yule was correct in his conception, and that, in accordance with his suggestion, *Jang* indeed represents the phonetically exact transcription of a Tibetan proper name. This is the Tibetan *a Jan* or *a Jans* (the prefixed letter *a* and the optional affix *-s* being silent, hence pronounced *Jang* or *Djang*), of which the following precise definition is given in the *Dictionnaire tibétain-latin français par les Missionnaires Catholiques du Tibet* (p. 351): "Tribus et regionis nomen in N.-W. provinciae Sinarum Yun-nan, cuius urbs principalis est Sa-t'am seu Ly-kiang fou. Tribus vocatur Mosso a Sinensibus et Nashi ab ipsismet incolis.' In fact, as here stated, *Ja<sup>n</sup>* or *Jang* is the Tibetan designation of the Mo-so and the territory inhabited by them, the capital of which is Li-kiang-fu. This name is found also in Tibetan literature. . . ."

XLVIII., p. 74, n. 2. One thousand Uighúr families (*hou*) had been transferred to Karajáng in 1285. (*Yuan Shi*, ch. 13, 8v°, quoted by PELLIOU.)

L., pp. 85-6. Zardandan. "The country is wild and hard of access, full of great woods and mountains which 'tis impossible to pass, the air in summer is so impure and bad; and any foreigners attempting it would die for certain."

"An even more formidable danger was the resolution of our 'permanent' (as distinguished from 'local') soldiers and mafus, of which we were now apprised, to desert us in a body, as they declined to face the malaria of the Lu-Kiang Ba, or Salwen Valley. We had, of course, read in Gill's book of this difficulty, but as we approached the Salwen we had concluded that the scare had been forgotten. We found, to our chagrin, that the



dreaded 'Fever Valley' had lost none of its terrors. The valley had a bad name in Marco Polo's day, in the thirteenth century, and its reputation has clung to it ever since, with all the tenacity of Chinese traditions. The Chinaman of the district crosses the valley daily without fear, but the Chinaman from a distance *knows* that he will either die or his wife will prove unfaithful. If he is compelled to go, the usual course is to write to his wife and tell her that she is free to look out for another husband. Having made up his mind that he will die, I have no doubt that he often dies through sheer funk." (R. Logan JACK, *Back Blocks of China*, 1904, p. 205.)

L., pp. 84, 89.

#### CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF ZARDANDAN.

We read in Huber's paper already mentioned (*Bul. Ecole Ext. Orient*, Oct.-Dec., 1909, p. 665): "The second month of the twelfth year (1275), Ho T'ien-tsio, governor of the Kien Ning District, sent the following information: 'A-kouo of the Zerdandan tribe, knows three roads to enter Burma, one by T'ien pu ma, another by the P'iao tien, and the third by the very country of A-kouo; the three roads meet at the 'City of the Head of the River' [Kaung si] in Burma.' A-kouo, named elsewhere A-ho, lived at Kan-ngai. According to Huber, the Zardandan road is the actual caravan road to Bhamo on the left of the Nam Ti and Ta Ping; the second route would be by the T'ien ma pass and Nam hkam, the P'iao tien route is the road on the right bank of the Nam Ti and the Ta Ping leading to Bhamo *via* San Ta and Man Waing.

The *Po Yi* and *Ho Ni* tribes are mentioned in the *Yuan Shi*, s.a. 1278. (PELLIOT.)

L., p. 90.

Mr. H. A. OTTEWILL tells me in a private note that the Kachins or Singphos did not begin to reach Burma in their emigration from Tibet until last century or possibly this century. They are not to be found east of the Salwen River.

L., p. 91.

#### COUVADE.

There is a paper on the subject in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1911, pp. 546-63) by Hugo Kunicke, *Das sogenannte "Manner-kindbett,"* with a bibliography not mentioning Yule's *Marco Polo*,

Vinson, etc. We may also mention : *De la "Covada" en Espana.* Por el Prof. Dr. Telesforo de Aranzadi, Barcelona (*Anthropos*, T.V., fasc. 4, Juli-August, 1910, pp. 775-8).

L., p. 92 n.

I quoted Prof. E. H. Parker (*China Review*, XIV., p. 359), who wrote that the "*Langszi* are evidently the *Szi lang*, one of the six *Chao*, but turned upside down." Prof. Pelliot (*Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, IV., July-Sept., 1904, p. 771) remarks : "Mr. Parker is entirely wrong. The *Chao* of Shi-lang, which was annexed by Nan Chao during the eighth century, was in the western part of Yun Nan, not in Kwei chau ; we have but little information on the subject." He adds : "The custom of *Couvade* is confirmed for the Lao of Southern China by the following text of the *Yi wu chi* of Fang Ts'ien-li, dating at least from the time of the T'ang dynasty : 'When a Lao woman of Southern China has a child, she goes out at once. The husband goes to bed exhausted, like a woman giving suck. If he does not take care, he becomes ill. The woman has no harm.'"

L., pp. 91-95.

Under the title of *The Couvade or "Hatching,"* John Cain writes from Dumagudem, 31st March, 1874, to the *Indian Antiquary*, May, 1874, p. 151 :

"In the districts in South India in which Telugu is spoken, there is a wandering tribe of people called the Erukavandlu. They generally pitch their huts, for the time being, just outside a town or village. Their chief occupations are fortune-telling, rearing pigs, and making mats. Those in this part of the Telugu country observe the custom mentioned in Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. II., pp. 277-284. Directly the woman feels the birth-pangs, she informs her husband, who immediately takes some of her clothes, puts them on, places on his forehead the mark which the women usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room where is only a very dim lamp, and lies down on the bed, covering himself up with a long cloth. When the child is born, it is washed and placed on the cot beside the father. *Assafoetida*, *jaggery*, and other articles are then given, not to the mother, but to the father. During the days of ceremonial uncleanness the man is treated as the other Hindus treat their women on such occasions. He is not allowed to leave his bed, but has everything needful brought to him."

Mr. John Cain adds (*loc.*, April, 1879, p. 106): "The women are called 'hens' by their husbands, and the male and female children 'cock children' and 'hen children' respectively."

LI., p. 99 n. "M. Garnier informs me that *Mien Kwé* or *Mien Tisong* is the name always given in Yun Nan to that kingdom."

*Mien Tisong* is surely faulty, and must likely be corrected in *Mien Chung*, proved especially at the Ming Period. (PELLIOT, *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, IV., July-Sept., 1904, p. 772.)

LI., LII., pp. 98 *seq.*

#### WAR AGAINST THE KING OF MIEN.

The late Edouard HUBER of Hanoi, writing from Burmese sources, throws new light on this subject: "In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Burmese kingdom included Upper and Lower Burma, Arakan and Tenasserim; besides the Court of Pagan was paramount over several feudatory Shan states, until the valleys of the Yunnanese affluents of the Irawadi to the N.E., and until Zimmé at the least to the E. Narasihapati, the last king of Pagan who reigned over the whole of this territory, had already to fight the Talaings of the Delta and the governor of Arakan who wished to be independent, when, in 1271, he refused to receive Kúblái's ambassadors who had come to call upon him to recognize himself as a vassal of China. The first armed conflict took place during the spring of 1277 in the Nam Ti valley; it is the battle of Nga-çaung-khyam of the Burmese Chronicles, related by Marco Polo, who, by mistake, ascribes to Nasr ed-Din the merit of this first Chinese victory. During the winter of 1277-78, a second Chinese expedition with Nasr ed-Din at its head ended with the capture of Kaung sin, the Burmese stronghold commanding the defile of Bhamo. The *Pagan Yazawin* is the only Burmese Chronicle giving exactly the spot of this second encounter. During these two expeditions, the invaders had not succeeded in breaking through the thick veil of numerous small thai principalities which still stand to-day between Yun Nan and Burma proper. It was only in 1283 that the final crush took place, when a third expedition, whose chief was Siang-wu-ta-eul (Singtaur), retook the fort of Kaung sin and penetrated more into the south in the Irawadi Valley, but without reaching Pagan. King Narasihapati evacuated Pagan before the impending advancing Chinese forces and fled to the



Delta. In 1285 parleys for the establishment of a Chinese Protectorship were begun; but in the following year, King Narasihapati was poisoned at Prome by his own son Sṛhasūra. In 1287, a fourth Chinese expedition, with Prince Ye-sin Timur at its head, reached at last Pagan, having suffered considerable losses. . . . A fifth and last Chinese expedition took place during the autumn of 1300 when the Chinese army went down the Irawadi Valley and besieged Myin-Saing during the winter of 1300-1301. The Mongol officers of the staff having been bribed the siege was raised." (*Bul. Ecole Extrême-Orient*, Oct.-Dec., 1909, pp. 679-680; cf. also p. 651 n.)

Huber, p. 666 n., places the battle-field of Vochan in the Nam Ti Valley; the Burmese never reached the plain of Yung Ch'ang.

LII., p. 106 n.

#### BURMA.

We shall resume from Chinese sources the history of the relations between Burma and China:

- 1271. Embassy of Kúblái to Mien asking for allegiance.
- 1273. New embassy of Kúblái.
- 1275. Information supplied by A-kuo, chief of Zardandan.
- 1277. First Chinese Expedition against Mien—Battle of Nga-çaung-khyam won by Hu Tu.
- 1277. Second Chinese Expedition led by Naçr ed-Din.
- 1283. Third Chinese Expedition led by Prince Singtaur.
- 1287. Fourth Chinese Expedition led by Yisun Timur; capture of Pagan.
- 1300-1301. Fifth Chinese Expedition; siege of Myin-saing.

Cf. E. HUBER, *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, Oct.-Dec., 1909, pp. 633-680.—VISDELOU, *Rev. Ext. Orient*, II., pp. 72-88.

LIII.-LIV., pp. 106-108. "After leaving the Province of which I have been speaking [Yung ch'ang] you come to a great Descent. In fact you ride for two days and a half continually down hill. . . . After you have ridden those two days and a half down hill, you find yourself in a province towards the south which is pretty near India, and this province is called AMIEN. You travel therein for fifteen days. . . . And when you have travelled those 15 days . . . you arrive at the capital city of this Province of Mien, and it also is called AMIEN. . . ."

I owe the following valuable note to Mr. Herbert Allan OTTEWILL, H.M.'s Vice-Consul at T'eng Yueh (11th October, 1908):

"The indications of the route are a great descent down which you ride continually for two days and a half towards the south along the main route to the capital city of Amien.

"It is admitted that the road from Yung Ch'ang to T'eng Yueh is not the one indicated. Before the Hui jen Bridge was built over the Salween in 1829, there can be no doubt that the road ran to Ta tu k'ou—great ferry place—which is about six miles below the present bridge. The distance to both places is about the same, and can easily be accomplished in two days.

"The late Mr. Litton, who was Consul here for some years, once stated that the road to La-mêng on the Salween was almost certainly the one referred to by Marco Polo as the great descent to the kingdom of Mien. His stages were from Yung Ch'ang: (1) Yin wang (? Niu wang); (2) P'ing ti; (3) Chen an so; (4) Lung Ling. The Salween was crossed on the third day at La-mêng Ferry. Yung Ch'ang is at an altitude of about 5,600 feet; the Salween at the Hui jen Bridge is about 2,400, and probably drops 200-300 feet between the bridge and La-mêng. Personally I have only been along the first stage to Niu Wang, 5,000 feet; and although aneroids proved that the highest point on the road was about 6,600, I can easily imagine a person not provided with such instruments stating that the descent was fairly gradual. From Niu Wang there must be a steady drop to the Salween, probably along the side of the stream which drains the Niu Wang Plain.

"La-mêng and Chen an so are in the territory of the Shan Sawbwa of Mang Shih [Möng Hkwan]."

"It is also a well-known fact that the Shan States of Hsen-wi (in Burma) and Meng mao (in China) fell under Chinese authority at an early date. Mr. E. H. Parker, quoted by Sir G. Scott in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, states: 'During the reign of the Mongol Emperor Kúblái a General was sent to punish Annam and passed through this territory or parts of it called Meng tu and Meng pang,' and secured its submission. In the year 1289 the Civil and Military Governorship of Muh Pang was established. Muh Pang is the Chinese name of Hsen-wi.

"Therefore the road from Yung Ch'ang to La-mêng fulfils the conditions of a great descent, riding two and a half days continually down hill finding oneself in a (Shan) Province to the south, besides being on a well-known road to Burma, which

was probably in the thirteenth century the only road to that country.

"Fifteen days from La-mêng to Tagaung or Old Pagan is not an impossible feat. Lung Ling is reached in  $1\frac{1}{2}$  days, Keng Yang in four, and it is possible to do the remaining distance about a couple of hundred miles in eleven days, making fifteen in all.

"I confess I do not see how any one could march to Pagan in Latitude  $21^{\circ} 13'$  in fifteen days."

LIV., p. 113.

#### NGA-TSHAUNG-GYAN.

According to the late E. HUBER, Ngan chen kue is not Nga-çaung-khyam, but Nga Singu, in the Mandalay district. The battle took place, not in the Yung Ch'ang plain, but in the territory of the Shan Chief of Nan-tien. The official description of China under the Ming (*Ta Ming yi tung che*, k. 87, 38 v°) tells us that Nan-tien before its annexation by Kúblái Khan, bore the name of Nan Sung or Nang Sung, and to-day the pass which cuts this territory in the direction of T'eng Yueh is called Nang-Sung-kwan. It is hardly possible to doubt that this is the place called Nga-çaung-khyam by the Burmese Chronicles. (*Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, Oct.-Dec., 1909, p. 652.)

LVI., p. 117 n.

A Map in the Yun Nan Topography Section 9, "Tu-ssu" or Sawbwas, marks the Kingdom of "Eight hundred wives" between the mouths of the Irrawaddy and the Salween Rivers. (Note kindly sent by Mr. H. A. OTTEWILL.)

LIX., p. 128.

#### CAUGIGU.

M. Georges Maspero, *L'Empire Khmèr*, p. 77 n., thinks that Canxigu = Luang Prabang;—I read Caugigu and I believe it is a transcription of *Kiao-Chi Kwé*, see p. 131.

LIX., pp. 128, 131.

"I have identified, II., p. 131, Caugigu with *Kiao-Chi kwé* (Kiao Chi), *i.e.* Tung King." Hirth and Rockhill (*Chau Ju-kua*, p. 46 n.) write: "'Kiáu chi' is certainly the original of Marco Polo's Caugigu and of Rashideddin's Kafchi kué."



## BOOK SECOND.—CONTINUED.

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### PART III.—JOURNEY SOUTHWARD THROUGH EASTERN PROVINCES OF CATHAY AND MANZI.

LX., p. 133.

#### CH'ANG LU.

The Rev. A. C. MOULE (*Young Pao*, July, 1915, p. 417) says that "Ciang lu [Ch'anglu] was not, I think, identical with Ts'ang chou," but does not give any reason in support of this opinion.

#### CH'ANG LU SALT.

"To this day the *sole name* for this industry, the financial centre of which is T'ien Tsin, is the 'Ch'ang-lu Superintendency.'" (E. H. PARKER, *As. Quart. Review*, Jan., 1904, p. 147.) "The 'Ch'ang-lu,' or Long Reed System, derives its name from the city Ts'ang chou, on the Grand Canal (south of T'ientsin), once so called. In 1285 Kúblái Khan 'once more divided the Ho-kien (Chih-li) and Shan Tung interests,' which, as above explained, are really one in working principle. There is now a First Class Commissary at Tientsin, with sixteen subordinates, and the Viceroy (who until recent years resided at Pao ting fu) has nominal supervision." (PARKER, *China*, 1901, pp. 223-4.)

"Il y a 10 groupes de salines, *Tch'ang*, situés dans les districts de Fou ning hien, Lo t'ing hien, Loan tcheou, Fong joen hien, Pao tch'e hien, T'ien tsin hien, Tsing hai hien, Ts'ang tcheou et Yen chan hien. Il y a deux procédés employés pour la fabrication du sel: 1° On étale sur un sol uni des cendres d'herbes venues dans un terrain salé et on les arrose d'eau de mer; le liquide qui s'en écoule, d'une densité suffisante pour faire flotter un œuf de poule ou des graines de nénuphar, *Che lien*, est chauffé pendant 24 heures avec de ces mêmes herbes employées comme combustible,

et le sel se dépose. Les cendres des herbes servent à une autre opération. 2<sup>o</sup> L'eau de mer est simplement évaporée au soleil. . . . L'administrateur en chef de ce commerce est le Vice-roi même de la province de Tche-li." (P. HOANG, *Sel, Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 15, p. 3.)

LXI., pp. 136, 138.

#### SANGON—T'SIANG KIUN.

"Le titre chinois de *tsiang kiun* 'général' apparaît toujours dans les inscriptions de l'Orkhon sous la forme *sänün*, et dans les manuscrits turcs de Tourfan on trouve *sangun*; ces formes avaient prévalu en Asie centrale et c'est à elles que répond le *sangon* de Marco Polo" (éd. Yule-Cordier, II., 136, 138). PELLISOT, *Kao tch'ang, J. As.*, Mai-Juin, 1912, p. 584 n.

LXI., p. 138.

#### LITAN.

"For Li T'an's rebellion and the siege of Ts'i-nan, see the *Yüan Shih*, c. v, fol. 1, 2; c. ccvi, fol. 2<sup>o</sup>; and c. cxviii, fol. 5<sup>o</sup>. From the last passage it appears that Aibuga, the father of King George of Tenduc, took some part in the siege. Prince Ha-pi-ch'i and Shih T'ien-tsê, but not, that I have seen, Agul or Mangutai, are mentioned in the *Yüan Shih*." (A. C. MOULE, *T'oung Pao*, July, 1915, p. 417.)

LXII., p. 139.

#### SINJUMATU

This is Ts'i ning chau. "Sinjumatu was on a navigable stream, as Marco Polo expressly states and as its name implies. It was not long after 1276, as we learn from the *Yüan Shih* (lxiv), that Kúblái carried out very extensive improvements in the waterways of this very region, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the *ma-pou* or landing-place had moved up to the more important town, so that the name of Chi chou had become in common speech Sinjumatu (Hsin-chou-ma-t'ou) by the time that Marco Polo got to know the place." (A. C. MOULE, *Marco Polo's Sinjumatu, T'oung Pao*, July, 1912, pp. 431-3.)

LXII., p. 139 n.

#### GREAT CANAL.

"Et si voz di qu'il ont un fluns dou quel il ont grant profit et voz dirai comant. Il est voir qe ceste grant fluns vient de ver

midi jusque à ceste cité de Singuimatu, et les homes de la ville cest grant fluns en ont fait deus : car il font l'une moitié aler ver levant, et l'autre moitié aler ver ponent : ce est qe le un vait au Mangi, et le autre por le Catai. Et si voz di por verité que ceste ville a si grant navile, ce est si grant quantité, qe ne est nul qe ne veisse qe peust croire. Ne entendés qe soient grant nés, mès eles sunt tel come besogne au grant fluns, et si voz di qe ceste naville portent au Mangi e por le Catai si grant abondance de mercandies qe ce est mervoille ; et puis quant elles revienent, si tornent encore cargies, et por ce est merveiliosse chouse à veoir la mercandie qe por celle fluns se porte sus et jus." (*Marco Polo, Soc. de Geog.*, p. 152.)

LXIV., p. 144.

#### CAIJU.

The Rev. A. C. Moule writes (*T'oung Pao*, July, 1915, p. 415) : "Hai chou is the obvious though by no means perfectly satisfactory equivalent of Caigiu. For it stands not on, but thirty or forty miles from, the old bed of the river. A place which answers better as regards position is Ngan tung which was a *chou* (*giu*) in the Sung and Yuan Dynasties. The *Kuang-yü-hsing-shêng*, Vol. II., gives Hai Ngan as the old name of Ngan Tung in the Eastern Wei Dynasty."

LXIV., p. 144 n.

"La voie des transports du tribut n'était navigable que de Hang tcheou au fleuve Jaune, [Koublai] la continua jusqu'après de sa capitale. Les travaux commencèrent en 1289 et trois ans après on en faisait l'ouverture. C'était un ruban de plus de (1800) mille huit cents li (plus de 1000 kil.). L'étendue de ce Canal, qui mérite bien d'être appelé impérial (Yu ho), de Hang Tcheou à Peking, mesure près de trois mille li, c'est-à-dire plus de quatre cents lieues." GANDAR, *Le Canal Impérial*, 1894, pp. 21-22. Kwa Chau (Caiju), formerly at the head of the Grand Canal on the Kiang, was destroyed by the erosions of the river.

LXV., p. 148 n.

Instead of Kōtan, note 1, read Kitan. "The ceremony of leading a sheep was insisted on in 926, when the Tungusic-Corean King of Puh-hai (or Manchuria) surrendered, and again in 946, when the puppet Chinese Emperor of the Tsin Dynasty



gave in his submission to the Kitans." (E. H. PARKER, *As. Quart. Rev.*, January, 1904, p. 140.)

LXV., p. 149.

#### LIN NGAN.

It is interesting to note that the spoils of Lin Ngan carried to Khan Balig were the beginning of the Imperial Library, increased by the documents of the Yuen, the Ming, and finally the Ts'ing; it is noteworthy that during the rebellion of Li Tze-ch'eng, the library was spared, though part of the palace was burnt. See N. PERI, *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, Jan.-June, 1911, p. 190.

LXVIII., p. 154 n.

#### YANJU.

Regarding Kingsmill's note, Mr. John C. Ferguson writes in the *Journal North China Branch Roy. As. Soc.*, XXXVII., 1906, p. 190: "It is evident that Tiju and Yanju have been correctly identified as Taichow and Yangchow. I cannot agree with Mr. Kingsmill, however, in identifying Tinju as Ichin-hien on the Great River. It is not probable that Polo would mention Ichin twice, once before reaching Yangchow and once after describing Yangchow. I am inclined to believe that Tinju is Hsien-nü-miao 仙女廟, a large market-place which has close connection both with Taichow and Yangchow. It is also an important place for the collection of the revenue on salt, as Polo notices. This identification of Tinju with Hsien-nü-miao would clear up any uncertainty as to Polo's journey, and would make a natural route for Polo to take from Kao yu to Yangchow if he wished to see an important place between these two cities."

LXVIII., p. 154.

#### YANG CHAU.

In a text of the *Yuen tien chang*, dated 1317, found by Prof. Pelliot, mention is made of a certain Ngao-la-han [Abraham?] still alive at Yang chau, who was, according to the text, the son of the founder of the "Church of the Cross of the ārkägün (*Ye-li-k'o-wen she-tze-sze*), one of the three Nestorian churches of Yang-chau mentioned by Odoric and omitted by Marco Polo. Cf. *Cathay*, II., p. 210, and PELLLOT, *T'oung Pao*, 1914, p. 638.

LXX., p. 167.

## SIEGE OF SAIANFU.

Prof. E. H. PARKER writes in the *Journ. of the North China Branch of the Roy. As. Soc.*, XXXVII., 1906, p. 195 : "Colonel Yule's note requires some amendment, and he has evidently been misled by the French translations. The two Mussulmans who assisted Kúblái with guns were not 'A-la-wa-ting of Mu-fa-li and Ysemain of Huli or Hiulie,' but A-la-pu-tan of Mao-sa-li and Y-sz-ma-yin of Shih-la. Shih-la is Shiraz, the Serazy of Marco Polo, and Mao-sa-li is Mosul. Bretschneider cites the facts in his *Mediæval Notes*, and seems to have used another edition, giving the names as A-lao-wa-ting of Mu-fa-li and Y-sz-ma-yin of Hü-lieh ; but even he points out that Hulagu is meant, *i.e.* 'a man from Hulagu's country.'"

LXX., p. 169.

## "P'AO."

"Captain Gill's testimony as to the ancient 'guns' used by the Chinese is, of course (as, in fact, he himself states), second-hand and hearsay. In Vol. XXIV. of the *China Review* I have given the name and date of a General who used *p'ao* so far back as the seventh century." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, pp. 146-7.)

LXXIV., p. 179 n.

## THE ALANS.

According to the *Yuen Shi* and Devéria, *Journ. Asiat.*, Nov.-Dec., 1896, 432, in 1229 and 1241, when Okkodai's army reached the country of the Aas (Alans), their chief submitted at once and a body of one thousand Alans were kept for the private guard of the Great Khan ; Mangu enlisted in his bodyguard half the troops of the Alan Prince, Arslan, whose younger son Nicholas took a part in the expedition of the Mongols against Karajang (Yun Nan). This Alan imperial guard was still in existence in 1272, 1286, and 1309, and it was divided into two corps with headquarters in the Ling pei province (Karakorum). See also Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, II., pp. 84-90.

The massacre of a body of Christian Alans related by Marco Polo (II., p. 178) is confirmed by Chinese sources.

LXXIV., p. 180, n. 3.

## ALANS.

See Notes in new edition of *Cathay and the Way thither*, III., pp. 179 *seq.*, 248.

The massacre of the Alans took place, according to Chinese sources, at Chen-ch'ao, not at Ch'ang chau. The Sung general who was in charge of the city, Hung Fu, after making a faint submission, got the Alans drunk at night and had them slaughtered. Cf. PELLISOT, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient*, *T'oung Pao*, Dec., 1914, p. 641.

LXXVI., pp. 184-5.

#### VUJU, VUGHIN, CHANGAN.

The Rev. A. C. Moule has given in the *T'oung Pao*, July, 1915, pp. 393 *seq.*, the Itinerary between Lin Ngan (Hang Chau) and Shang Tu, followed by the Sung Dynasty officials who accompanied their Empress Dowager to the Court of Kúblái after the fall of Hang Chau in 1276; the diary was written by Yen Kwang-ta, a native of Shao Hing, who was attached to the party.

The Rev. A. C. Moule in his notes writes, p. 411: "The connexion between Hu-chou and Hang-chou is very intimate, and the north suburb of the latter, the Hu-shu, was known in Marco Polo's day as the Hu-chou shih. The identification of Vughin with Wu-chiang is fairly satisfactory, but it is perhaps worth while to point out that there is a place called Wu chên about fifty *li* north of Shih-mên; and for Ciangan there is a tempting place called Ch'ang-an chên just south of Shih-mên on a canal which was often preferred to the T'ang hsi route until the introduction of steam boats."

LXXVI., p. 192. "There is one church only [at Kinsay], belonging to the Nestorian Christians."

It was one of the seven churches built in China by Mar Sarghis, called *Ta p'u hing sze* (Great Temple of Universal Success), or *Yang yi Hu-mu-la*, near the *Tsien k'iao men*. Cf. *Marco Polo*, II., p. 177; VISSIERE, *Rev. du Monde Musulman*, March, 1913, p. 8.

LXXVI., p. 193.

#### KINSAY.

Chinese Atlas in the Magliabecchian Library.

The Rev. A. C. MOULE has devoted a long note to this Atlas in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, July, 1919, pp. 393-395. He



has come to the conclusion that the Atlas is no more nor less than the *Kuang yü t'u*, and that it seems that *Camse* stands neither for Ching-shih, as Yule thought, nor for Hang chau as he, Moule, suggested in 1917, but simply for the province of Kiangsi. (*A Note on the Chinese Atlas in the Magliabecchian Library, with reference to Kinsay in Marco Polo.*)

Mr. P. von Tanner, Commissioner of Customs at Hang chau, wrote in 1901 in the *Decennial Reports, 1892-1901, of the Customs*, p. 4: "While Hangchow owes its fame to the lake on the west, it certainly owes its existence towards the south-west to the construction of the sea wall, called by the Chinese by the appropriate name of bore wall. The erection of this sea wall was commenced about the year A.D. 915, by Prince Ts'ien Wu-su; it extends from Hang Chau to Chuan sha, near the opening of the Hwang pu. . . . The present sea wall, in its length of 180 miles, was built. The wall is a stupendous piece of work, and should take an equal share of fame with the Grand Canal and the Great Wall of China, as its engineering difficulties were certainly infinitely greater. . . . The fact that Marco Polo does not mention it shows almost conclusively that he never visited Hang Chau, but got his account from a Native poet. He must have taken it, besides, without the proverbial grain of salt, and without eliminating the over-numerous 'thousands' and 'myriads' prompted less by facts than by patriotic enthusiasm and poetical licence."

LXXVI., p. 194 n.

#### BRIDGES OF KINSAY.

In the heart of Hang-chau, one of the bridges spanning the canal which divides into two parts the walled city from north to south is called *Hwei Hwei k'iao* (Bridge of the Mohamedans) or *Hwei Hwei Sin k'iao* (New Bridge of the Mohamedans), while its literary name is *Tsi Shan k'iao* (Bridge of Accumulated Wealth); it is situated between the *Tsien k'iao* on the south and the *Fung lo k'iao* on the north. Near the *Tsi Shan k'iao* was a mosk, and near the *Tsien k'iao*, at the time of the Yuen, there existed Eight Pavilions (*Pa kien lew*) inhabited by wealthy Mussulmans. Mohamedans from Arabia and Turkestan were sent by the Yuen to Hang-chau; they had prominent noses, did not eat pork, and were called *So mu chung* (Coloured-eye race). VISSIÈRE, *Rev. du Monde Musulman*, March, 1913.

LXXVI., p. 199.

## KINSAY, KHANFU.

Pelliot proposes to see in Khanfu a transcription of Kwang-fu, an abridgment of Kwang chau fu, prefecture of Kwang ch'au (Canton). Cf. *Bul. Ecole franç. Ext. Orient*, Jan.-June, 1904, p. 215 n., but I cannot very well accept this theory.

LXXX., pp. 225, 226. "They have also [in Fu Kien] a kind of fruit resembling saffron, and which serves the purpose of saffron just as well."

Dr. Laufer writes to me: "Yule's identification with a species of *Gardenia* is all right, although this is not peculiar to Fu Kien. Another explanation, however, is possible. In fact, the Chinese speak of a certain variety of saffron peculiar to Fu Kien. The *Pen ts'ao kang mu shi i* (Ch. 4, p. 14 b) contains the description of a 'native saffron' (*t'u hung hwa*, in opposition to the 'Tibetan red flower' or genuine saffron) after the Continued Gazetteer of Fu Kien, as follows: 'As regards the native saffron, the largest specimens are seven or eight feet high. The leaves are like those of the p'i-p'a (*Eriobotrya japonica*), but smaller and without hair. In the autumn it produces a white flower like a grain of maize (*Su-mi*, *Zea mays*). It grows in Fu Chou and Nan Ngen Chou (now Yang Kiang in Kwang Tung) in the mountain wilderness. That of Fu Chou makes a fine creeper, resembling the *fu-yung* (*Hibiscus mutabilis*), green above and white below, the root being like that of the *ko* (*Pachyrhizus thunbergianus*). It is employed in the pharmacopeia, being finely chopped for this purpose and soaked overnight in water in which rice has been scoured; then it is soaked for another night in pure water and pounded: thus it is ready for prescriptions.' This plant, as far as I know, has not yet been identified, but it may well be identical with Polo's saffron of Fu Kien."

LXXX., pp. 226, 229 n.

## THE SILKY FOWLS OF MARCO POLO.

Tarradale, Muir of Ord, Rosss-shire, May 10, 1915.

In a letter lately received from my cousin Mr. George Udny Yule (St. John's College, Cambridge) he makes a suggestion which seems to me both probable and interesting. As he is at present too busy to follow up the question himself, I have asked permission to publish his suggestion in *The Athenæum*, with the

hope that some reader skilled in mediæval French and Italian may be able to throw light on the subject.

Mr. Yule writes as follows :—

“The reference [to these fowls] in ‘Marco Polo’ (p. 226 of the last edition; not p. 126 as stated in the index) is a puzzle, owing to the statement that they are *black* all over. A black has, I am told, been recently created, but the common breed is white, as stated in the note and by Friar Odoric.

“It has occurred to me as a possibility that what Marco Polo may have meant to say was that they were *black all through*, or some such phrase. The flesh of these fowls is deeply pigmented, and looks practically black; it is a feature that is very remarkable, and would certainly strike any one who saw it. The details that they ‘lay eggs just like our fowls,’ *i.e.*, not pigmented, and are ‘very good to eat,’ are facts that would naturally deserve especial mention in this connexion. Mr. A. D. Darbishire (of Oxford and Edinburgh University) tells me that is quite correct: the flesh look horrid, but it is quite good eating. Do any texts suggest the possibility of such a reading as I suggest?”

The references in the above quotation are, of course, to my father’s version of Marco Polo. That his nephew should make this interesting little contribution to the subject would have afforded him much gratification.

A. F. YULE.

*The Athenæum*, No. 4570, May 29, 1915, p. 485.

LXXX., pp. 226, 230.

#### SUGAR.

“I may observe that the *Pêh Shî* (or ‘Northern Dynasties History’) speaks of a large consumption of sugar in Cambodia as far back as the fifth century of our era. There can be no mistake about the meaning of the words *sha-t’ang*, which are still used both in China and Japan (*sa-tô*). The ‘History of the T’ang Dynasty,’ in its chapter on Magadha, says that in the year 627 the Chinese Emperor ‘sent envoys thither to procure the method of boiling out sugar, and then ordered the Yang-chou sugar-cane growers to press it out in the same way, when it appeared that both in colour and taste ours excelled that of the Western Regions’ [of which Magadha was held to be part].” (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 146.)



## ZAITUN.

LXXXII., p. 237.

M. G. Ferrand remarks that *Tze tung* = زيتون, *zitūn* in Arabic, inexactly read *Zaytūn*, on account of its similitude with its homonym زيتون, *zyatūn*, olive. (*Relat de Voy.*, I., p. 11.)

LXXXII., pp. 242-245.

"Perhaps it may not be generally known that in the dialect of Foochow Ts'uän-chou and Chang-chou are at the present day pronounced in *exactly the same way*—i.e., 'Chiong-chiu,' and it is by no means impossible that Marco Polo's *Tyunju* is an attempt to reproduce this sound, especially as, coming to Zaitun *via* Foochow, he would probably first hear the Foochow pronunciation." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 148.)

BOOK THIRD.



JAPAN, THE ARCHIPELAGO, SOUTHERN INDIA,  
AND THE COASTS AND ISLANDS OF THE  
INDIAN SEA.





## BOOK THIRD.

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### JAPAN, THE ARCHIPELAGO, SOUTHERN INDIA, AND THE COASTS AND ISLANDS OF THE INDIAN SEA.

II., p. 256, n. 1.

#### NÁFÚN.

Regarding the similitude between *Nipon* and *Nafun*, Ferrand, *Textes*, I., p. 115 n., remarks: "Ce rapprochement n'a aucune chance d'être exact نافون *Nafun* est certainement une erreur de graphie pour ياكوت *Yākūt* ou ناقوس *Nākūs*."

III., p. 261.

#### JAPANESE WAR.

"Hung Ts'a-k'iu, who set out overland *viâ* Corea and Tsushima in 1281, is much more likely than Fan Wên-hu to be Von-sain-*chin* (probably a misprint for *chiu*), for the same reason Vo-cim stands for *Yung*-ch'ang, and *sa* for *sha*, *ch'a*, *ts'a*, etc. A-la-han (not A-ts'ï-han) fell sick at the start, and was replaced by A-ta-hai. To copy *Abacan* for *Alahan* would be a most natural error, and I see from the notes that M. Schlegel has come to the same conclusion independently." (E. H. PARKER, *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 147.)

V., pp. 270, 271 n.

#### CHAMBA.

Lieut.-General Sagatu, So Tu or So To, sent in 1278 an envoy to the King known as Indravarman VI. or Jaya Sinhavarman. Maspero (*Champa*, pp. 237, 254) gives the date of 1282 for the war against Champa with Sagatu appointed at the head of the Chinese Army on the 16th July, 1282; the war

lasted until 1285. Maspero thinks 1288 the date of Marco's visit to Champa (*L.c.*, p. 254).

VII., p. 277 n.

#### SONDUR AND CONDUR (PULO CONDORE).

Mr. C. O. Blagden has some objection to Sundar Fūlāt being Pulo Condor: "In connexion with Sundur-Fūlāt, some difficulties seem to arise. If it represents Pulo Condor, why should navigators on their way to China call at it *after* visiting Champa, which lies beyond it? And if *fūlāt* represents a Persian plural of the Malay *Pulau*, 'island,' why does it not precede the proper name as generic names do in Malay and in Indonesian and Southern Indo-Chinese languages generally? Further, if *sundur* represents a native form *čundur*, whence the hard *c* (= *k*) of our modern form of the word? I am not aware that Malay changes *č* to *k* in an initial position." (*J. R. As. Soc.*, April, 1914, p. 496.)

"L'île de Sendi Foulat est très grande; il y a de l'eau douce, des champs cultivés, du riz et des cocotiers. Le roi s'appelle Resed. Les habitants portent la fouta soit en manteau, soit en ceinture. . . . L'île de Sendi Foulat est entourée, du côté de la Chine, de montagnes d'un difficile accès, et où soufflent des vents impétueux. Cette île est une des portes de la Chine. De là à la ville de Khancou, X journées." EDRISI, I., p. 90. In Malay Pulo Condor is called Pulau Kundur (Pumpkin Island) and in Cambodian, Koh Traläch. See PELLLOT, *Deux Itinéraires*, pp. 218-220. Fūlāt = *fūl* (Malay *pulo*) + Persian plural suffix -āt. Čundur fūlāt means Pumpkin Island. FERRAND, *Textes*, pp. ix., 2.

VII., p. 277.

#### LOCAC.

According to W. Tomaschek (*Die topographischen Capitel des Indischen Seespiegels Mohit*, Vienna, 1897, Map XXIII.) it should be read *Lōšak* = The *Lochac* of the G. T. "It is *Laṅkāçoka* of the Tanjore inscription of 1030, the *Ling ya ssī kia* of the *Chu-fan-chi* of Chau Ju-kua, the *Lēṅkasuka* of the *Nāgarakrētā-gama*, the *Lang-šakā* of Sulayman al Mahri, situated on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula." (G. FERRAND, *Malaka, le Malāyu et Malāyur*, *J. As.*, July-Aug., 1918, p. 91.) On the

situation of this place which has been erroneously identified with Tenasserim, see *ibid.*, pp. 134-145 M. Ferrand places it in the region of Ligor.

VII., pp. 278-279.

#### LAWĀKI.

*Lawāki* comes from Lovek, a former capital of Cambodia ; referring to the aloes-wood called *Lawāki* in the *Ain-i-Akbari* written in the 16th century, FERRAND, *Textes*, I., p. 285 n., remarks: "On vient de voir que Ibn-al-Bayṭār a emprunté ce nom à Avicenne (980-1037) qui écrivit son *Canon de la Médecine* dans les premières années du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. *Lawāk* ou Lowāk nous est donc attesté sous le forme *Lawāki* ou *Lowāki* dès le X<sup>e</sup> siècle, puis qu'il est mentionné, au début du XI<sup>e</sup>, par Avicenne qui résidait alors à Djurdjān, sur la Caspienne."

VIII., pp. 280-3.

#### OF THE ISLAND CALLED PENTAM, AND THE CITY MALAIUR.

The late Col. G. E. Gerini published in the *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1905, pp. 485-511, a paper on the *Nāgarakretāgama*, a Javanese poem composed by a native bard named Prapañca, in honour of his sovereign Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389), the greatest ruler of Mājapāhit. He upsets all the theories accepted hitherto regarding *Panten*. The southernmost portion of the Malay Peninsula is known as the *Malaya* or *Malayu* country (Tānah-Malāyu) = Chinese *Ma-li-yü-êrh* = *Malāyur* = *Maluir* of Marco Polo, witness the river *Malāyu* (*Sungei Malāyu*) still so called, and the village *Bentan*, both lying there (ignored by all Col. Gerini's predecessors) on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait. Col. Gerini writes (p. 509): "There exists to this day a village *Bentam* on the mainland side of Singapore Strait, right opposite the mouth of the Sungei Selitar, on the northern shore of Singapore Island, it is not likely that both travellers [Polo and Odoric] mistook the coast of the Malay Peninsula for an island. The island of *Pentam*, *Paten*, or *Pantem* must therefore be the *Be-Tūmah* (Island) of the Arab Navigators, the *Tamasak* Island of the Malays ; and, in short, the Singapore Island of our day." He adds: "The island of *Pentam* cannot be either Batang or Bitang, the latter of which is likewise mentioned by Marco Polo under the same name of *Pentam*, but  $60 + 30 = 90$  miles before



reaching the former. Batang, girt all round by dangerous reefs, is inaccessible except to small boats. So is Bintang, with the exception of its south-western side, where is now Rîâu, and where, a little further towards the north, was the settlement at which the chief of the island resided in the fourteenth century. There was no reason for Marco Polo's junk to take that round-about way in order to call at such, doubtlessly insignificant place. And the channel (*i.e.* Rhio Strait) has far more than four paces' depth of water, whereas there are no more than two fathoms at the western entrance to the Old Singapore Strait."

Marco Polo says (II., p. 280): "Throughout this distance [from Pentam] there is but four paces' depth of water, so that great ships in passing this channel have to lift their rudders, for they draw nearly as much water as that." Gerini remarks that it is unmistakably the *Old Singapore Strait*, and that there is no channel so shallow throughout all those parts except among reefs. "The *Old Strait* or *Selat Tebrau*, says N. B. Dennys, *Descriptive Dict. of British Malaya*, separating Singapore from Johore. Before the settlement of the former, this was the only known route to China; it is generally about a mile broad, but in some parts little more than three furlongs. Crawford went through it in a ship of 400 tons, and found the passage tedious but safe." Most of Sinologists, Beal, Chavannes, Pelliot, *Bul. Ecole Ext. Orient.*, IV., 1904, pp. 321-2, 323-4, 332-3, 341, 347, place the Malaiur of Marco Polo at Palembang in Sumatra.

VIII., pp. 281, n. 283 n.

#### TANA-MALAYU.

"On a traduit *Tānah Malāyu* par 'Pays des Malais,' mais cette traduction n'est pas rigoureusement exacte. Pour prendre une expression parallèle, *Tānah Djāwa* signifie 'Pays de Java,' mais non 'Pays des Javanais.'

"En réalité, *tānah* 'terre, sol, pays, contrée' s'emploie seulement avec un toponyme qui doit être rendu par un toponyme équivalent. Le nom des habitants du pays s'exprime, en malais, en ajoutant *orañ* 'homme, personne, gens, numéral des êtres humains' au nom du pays: '*orañ Malāyu*' Malais, litt. 'gens de Malāyu'; *orañ Djāwa* Javanais, litt. 'gens de Java.' *Tānah Malāyu* a donc très nettement le sens de 'pays de Malāyu'; cf. l'expression kawi correspondante dans le *Nāgarakrêtāgama*: *tanah ri Malayu* 'pays de Malāyu' où chaque mot français recouvre exactement le substantif, la préposition et le toponyme

de l'expression kawi. Le *tand Malayo* de Barros s'applique donc à un pays déterminé du nom de Malāyu qui, d'après l'auteur des *Décades*, était situé entre Djambi et Palembang. Nous savons, d'autre part, que le pays en question avait sa capitale dans l'intérieur de l'île, mais qu'il s'étendait dans l'Est jusqu'à la mer et que la côte orientale a été désignée par les textes chinois du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle sous le nom de *Mo-lo-yeou*, *Mo-lo-yu* = *Malāyu*, c'est-à-dire par le nom de l'Etat ou royaume dont elle faisait partie." (G. FERRAND, *J. As.*, July-Aug., 1918, pp. 72-73.)

VIII., p. 282.

#### MALACCA.

See G. FERRAND, *Malaka, le Malayu et Malāyur*, *J. As.*, 1918. Besides Malayu of Sumatra, there was a city of Malayur which M. Ferrand thinks is Malacca.

VIII., p. 282 n. "This informs us that Malacca first acknowledged itself as tributary to the Empire in 1405, the king being *Sili-ju-eul-sula* (?)."

In this name *Si-li-ju-eul-su-la*, one must read 𑖦 *pa*, instead of 𑖦, and read *Si-li-pa-eul-su-la* = Siri Paramisura (Śrī Paramaṣvara). (PELLIOT, *Bul. Ecole franc. Ext. Orient*, IV., July-Sept., 1904, p. 772.)

IX., p. 285. "They [the rhinoceros] do no mischief, however, with the horn, but with the tongue alone; for this is covered all over with long and strong prickles [and when savage with any one they crush him under their knees and then rasp him with their tongue]."

"Its tongue is like the burr of a chestnut." (CHAU JU-KWA, p. 233.)

IX., p. 289.

#### SUMATRA.

In 1017, an embassy was sent to the Court of China by Haji Sumutrabhūmi, "the king of the land of Sumutra" (Sumatra). The envoys had a letter in golden characters and tribute in the shape of pearls, ivory, Sanscrit, books folded between boards, and slaves; by an imperial edict they were permitted to see the emperor and to visit some of the imperial buildings. When they went back an edict was issued addressed to their king, accompanied by various presents, calculated to please them. (GROENEVELT, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, p. 65.) G. Ferrand writes

(*J. As.*, Mars-Avril, 1917, p. 335) that according to the texts quoted by him in his article the island of Sumatra was known to the Chinese under the name *Sumuta*=*Sumutra*, during the first years of the eleventh century, nearly 300 years before Marco Polo's voyage; and under the name of *Sumutra*, by the Arab sailors, previously to the first voyage of the Portuguese in Indonesia.

IX., p. 287.

#### FERLEC.

Prof. Pelliot writes to me that the *Ferlec* of Marco Polo is to be found several times in the *Yuan Shi*, year 1282 and following, under the forms *Fa-li-lang* (Chap. 12, fol. 4 v.), *Fa-li-la* (Chap. 13, fol. 2 v.), *Pie-li-la* (Chap. 13, fol. 4 v.), *Fa-eul-la* (Chap. 18, fol. 8 v.); in the first case, it is quoted near *A-lu* (*Aru*) and *Kan-pai* (*Kampeï*).—Cf. FERRAND, *Textes*, II., p. 670.

XI., pp. 304-5.

#### SAGO TREE.

Sago Palm = *Sagus Rumphianus* and *S. Lævis* (DENNYS).—"From Malay *sāgū*. The farinaceous pith taken out of the stem of several species of a particular genus of palm, especially *Metroxylon laeve*, Mart., and *M. Rumphii*, Willd., found in every part of the Indian Archipelago, including the Philippines, wherever there is proper soil." (*Hobson-Jobson*.)

XII., p. 306. "In this island [Necuveran] they have no king nor chief, but live like beasts. And I tell you they go all naked, both men and women, and do not use the slightest covering of any kind."

We have seen (*Marco Polo*, II., p. 308) that Mr. G. Phillips writes (*J. R. A. S.*, July, 1895, p. 529) that the name Tsui-lan given to the Nicobars by the Chinese is, he has but little doubt, "a corruption of Nocueran, the name given by Marco Polo to the group. The characters Tsui-lan are pronounced Ch'ui lan in Amoy, out of which it is easy to make Cueran. The Chinese omitted the initial syllable and called them the Cueran Islands, while Marco Polo called them the Nocueran Islands." Schlegel, *Toung Pao*, IX., p. 182-190, thinks that the Andaman Islands are alone represented by Ts'ui-lan; the Nicobar being the old country of the Lo-ch'a, and in modern time, *Mao shan*, "Hat Island." Pelliot, *Bul. Ecole Ext. Orient*, IV., 1904, pp. 354-5, is



inclined to accept Phillip's opinion. He says that Mao-shan is one island, not a group of islands; it is not proved that the country of the Lo ch'a is the Nicobar Islands; the name of *Lo-hing-man*, Naked Barbarians, is, contrary to Schlegel's opinion, given to the Nicobar as well as to the Andaman people; the name of Andaman appears in Chinese for the first time during the thirteenth century in Chao Ju-kwa under the form *Yen-t'o-man*; Chao Ju-kwa specifies that going from Lambri (*Sumatra*) to Ceylon, it is an unfavourable wind which makes ships drift towards these islands; on the other hand, texts show that the Ts'ui-lan islands were on the usual route from Sumatra to Ceylon.—Gerini, *Researches*, p. 396, considers that *Ts'ui-lan shan* is but the phonetic transcript of *Tilan-chong* Island, the north-easternmost of the Nicobars.—See Hirth and Rockhill's *Chau Ju-kwa*, p. 12 n.—Sansk. *nārikera*, "cocoanuts," is found in Necuveram.

## XIII., p. 309.

## ANGAMANAIN.

"When sailing from Lan-wu-li to Si-lan, if the wind is not fair, ships may be driven to a place called Yen-t'o-man [in Cantonese, An-t'o-man]. This is a group of two islands in the middle of the sea, one of them being large, the other small; the latter is quite uninhabited. The large one measures seventy *li* in circuit. The natives on it are of a colour resembling black lacquer; they eat men alive, so that sailors dare not anchor on this coast.

"This island does not contain so much as an inch of iron, for which reason the natives use (bits of) conch-shell (*ch'ò-k'ü*) with ground edges instead of knives. On this island is a sacred relic, (the so-called) 'Corpse on a bed of rolling gold. . .'" (CHAU JU-KWA, p. 147.)

## XIII., p. 311.

## DOG-HEADED BARBARIANS.

Rockhill in a note to Carpini (*Rubruck*, p. 36) mentions "the Chinese annals of the sixth century (*Liang Shu*, bk. 54; *Nan shih*, bk. 79) which tell of a kingdom of dogs (*Kou kuo*) in some remote corner of north-eastern Asia. The men had human bodies but dogs' heads, and their speech sounded like barking. The women were like the rest of their sex in other parts of the world."

Dr. Laufer writes to me : " A clear distinction must be made between dog-headed people and the motive of descent from a dog-ancestor,—two entirely different conceptions. The best exposition of the subject of the cynocephali according to the traditions of the Ancients is now presented by J. MARQUART (*Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums in Leiden*, pp. cc-ccxix). It is essential to recognize that the mediæval European, Arabic, and Chinese fables about the country of the dog-heads are all derived from one common source, which is traceable to the Greek Romance of Alexander ; that is an Oriental-Hellenistic cycle. In a wider sense, the dog-heads belong to the cycle of wondrous peoples, which assumed shape among the Greek mariners under the influence of Indian and West-Asiatic ideas. The tradition of the *Nan shi* (Ch. 79, p. 4), in which the motive of the dog-heads, the women, however, being of human shape, meets its striking parallel in Adam of Bremen (*Gesta hamburg. ecclesiæ pontificum*, 4, 19), who thus reports on the *Terra Feminarum* beyond the Baltic Sea : ' Cumque pervenerint ad partum, si quid masculini generis est, fiunt cynocephali, si quid femini, speciosissimæ mulieres.' See further KLAPROTH, *J. As.*, XII., 1833, p. 287 ; DULAURIER, *J. As.*, 1858, p. 472 ; ROCKHILL, *Rubruck*, p. 36."

In an interesting paper on Walrus and Narwhal Ivory, Dr. Laufer (*T'oung Pao*, July, 1916, p. 357) refers to dog-headed men with women of human shape, from a report from the Mongols received by King Hethum of Armenia.

XIV., p. 313. " The people [of Ceylon] are Idolaters, and go quite naked except that they cover the middle. . . . The King of this Island possesses a ruby which is the finest and biggest in the world ; I will tell you what it is like. It is about a palm in length, and as thick as a man's arm ; to look at, it is the most resplendent object upon earth ; it is quite free from flaw and as red as fire. Its value is so great that a price for it in money could hardly be named at all."

Chau Ju-kwa, p. 73, has : " The King holds in his hand a jewel five inches in diameter, which cannot be burnt by fire, and which shines in (the darkness of) night like a torch. The King rubs his face with it daily, and though he were passed ninety he would retain his youthful looks.

" The people of the country are very dark-skinned, they wrap a sarong round their bodies, go bare-headed and bare-footed."

XIV., p. 314 n.

## THE ISLAND OF CEYLON.

The native kings of this period were Pandita Prakama Bahu II., who reigned from 1267 to 1301 at Dambadenia, about 40 miles north-north-east of Columbo (Marco Polo's time); Vijaya Bahu IV. (1301-1303); Bhuwaneka Bahu I. (1303-1314); Prakama Bahu III. (1314-1319); Bhuwaneka Bahu II. (1319).

## SAGAMONI BORCAN.

= Sakya Muni Burkhan.

XV., p. 319. Seilan—History of Sagamoni Borcan. "And they maintain . . . that the teeth, and the hair, and the dish that are there were those of the same king's son, whose name was Sagamoni Borcan, or Sagamoni the Saint."

See J. F. FLEET, *The Tradition about the corporeal Relics of Buddha*. (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1906, and April, 1907, pp. 341-363.)

XV., p. 320.

In a paper on *Burkhan* printed in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVI., 1917, pp. 390-395, Dr. Berthold Laufer has come to the following conclusion: "Burkhan in Mongol by no means conveys exclusively the limited notion of Buddha, but, first of all, signifies 'deity, god, gods,' and secondly 'representation or image of a god.' This general significance neither inheres in the term Buddha nor in Chinese Fo; neither do the latter signify 'image of Buddha'; only Mongol *burkhan* has this force, because originally it conveyed the meaning of a shamanistic image. From what has been observed on the use of the word *burkhan* in the shamanistic or pre-Buddhistic religions of the Tungusians, Mongols and Turks, it is manifest that the word well existed there before the arrival of Buddhism, fixed in its form and meaning, and was but subsequently transferred to the name of Buddha."

XV., pp. 323 *seq.*

## BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT.

The German traveller von Le Coq has found at Turfan fragments of this legend in Turki which he published in 1912 in



his *Türkische Manichaica*, which agree with the legend given by the Persian Ibn Bābawaih of Qum, who died in 991. (S. d'OLDENBOURG, *Bul. Ac. I. des Sc.*, Pet., 1912, pp. 779-781; W. RADLOFF, *Altürk. Stud.*, VI., zu *Barlaam und Joasaph*). M. P. Alfarić (*La Vie chrétienne du Bouddha*, *J. Asiatique*, Sept.-Oct., 1917, pp. 269 *seq.*; *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, Nov.-Dec., 1918, pp. 233 *seq.*) has studied this legend from a Manichæan point of view.

XV., p. 327.

See *La "Vie des Saints Barlaam et Josaphat" et la légende du Bouddha*, in Vol. I., pp. xxxvii-lvi, of *Contes populaires de Lorraine* par Emmanuel COSQUIN, Paris, Vieweg, n.d. [1886].

XVI., p. 335 n.

#### TANJORE.

Speaking of Chu-lién (Chola Dominion, Coromandel Coast), Chau Ju-kwa, pp. 93-4, says:—

"The kingdom of Chu-lién is the Southern Yin-tu of the west. To the east (its capital) is five *li* distant from the sea; to the west one comes to Western India (after) 1500 *li*; to the south one comes to Lo-lan (after) 2500 *li*; to the north one comes to Tun-t'ien (after) 3000 *li*."

Hirth and Rockhill remark, p. 98: "Ma Tuan-lin and the *Sung-shi* reproduce textually this paragraph (the former writer giving erroneously the distance between the capital and the sea as 5000 *li*). Yule, *Marco Polo*, II., p. 335, places the principal port of the Chola kingdom at Kaveripattanam, the 'Paṭṭaṇam' par excellence of the Coromandel Coast, and at one of the mouths of the Kaveri. He says that there seems to be some evidence that the Tanjore ports were, before 1300, visited by Chinese trade. The only Lo-lan known to mediæval Chinese is mentioned in the *T'ang-shu*, 221<sup>8</sup>, and is identified with the capital of Bamian, in Afghanistan. I think our text is corrupt here and that the character *lo* should be changed to *si*, and that we should read Si-lan, our Ceylon. Both Ma and the *Sung-shi* say that 2500 *li* south-east of Chu-lién was 'Si-lan-ch'ü-kuo with which it was at war. Of course the distance mentioned is absurd, but all figures connected with Chu-lién in Chinese accounts are inexplicably exaggerated."

XVI., pp. 336-337.

## CHINESE PAGODA AT NEGAPATAM.

Sir Walter ELLIOT, K.C.S.I., to whom Yule refers for the information given about this pagoda, has since published in the *Indian Antiquary*, VII., 1878, pp. 224-227, an interesting article with the title: *The Edifice formerly known as the Chinese or Jaina Pagoda at Negapatam*, from which we gather the following particulars regarding its destruction:—

“It went by various names, as the *Puduvēli-gōpuram*, the old pagoda, Chinese pagoda, black pagoda, and in the map of the Trigonometrical Survey (Sheet 79) it stands as the Jeyna (Jaina) pagoda. But save in name it has nothing in common with Hindu or Muhammadan architecture, either in form or ornament.”

“In 1859, the Jesuit Fathers presented a petition to the Madras Government representing the tower to be in a dangerous condition, and requesting permission to pull it down and appropriate the materials to their own use. . . .” In 1867 “the Fathers renewed their application for leave to remove it, on the following grounds: ‘1st, because they considered it to be unsafe in its present condition; 2nd, because it obstructed light and sea-breeze from a chapel which they had built behind it; 3rd, because they would very much like to get the land on which it stood; and 4th, because the bricks of which it was built would be very useful to them for building purposes.’”

“The Chief Engineer, who meanwhile had himself examined the edifice, and had directed the District Engineer to prepare a small estimate for its repair, reported that the first only of the above reasons had any weight, and that it would be met if Colonel O’Connell’s estimate, prepared under his own orders, received the sanction of Government. He therefore recommended that this should be given, and the tower allowed to stand. . . .”

“The Chief Engineer’s proposal did not meet with approval, and on the 28th August 1867, the following order was made on the Jesuits’ petition: ‘The Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the removal of the old tower at Negapatam by the officers of St. Joseph’s College, at their own expense, and the appropriation of the available material to such school-building purposes as they appear to have in contemplation.’”

“The Fathers were not slow in availing themselves of this

permission. The venerable building was speedily levelled, and the site cleared."

In making excavations connected with the college a bronze image representing a Buddhist or Jaina priest in the costume and attitude of the figures in wood and metal brought from Burma was found; it was presented to Lord Napier, in 1868; a reproduction of it is given in Sir Walter Elliot's paper.

In a note added by Dr. Burnell to this paper, we read: "As I several times in 1866 visited the ruin referred to, I may be permitted to say that it had become merely a shapeless mass of bricks. I have no doubt that it was originally a *vimāna* or shrine of some temple; there are some of precisely the same construction in parts of the Chingleput district."

XVI., p. 336 n.

#### NEGAPATAM.

We read in the *Tao yi chi lio* (1349) that "T'u t'a (the eastern stupa) is to be found in the flat land of Pa-tan (Fattan, Negapatam?) and that it is surrounded with stones. There is stupa of earth and brick many feet high; it bears the following Chinese inscription: 'The work was finished in the eighth moon of the third year *hien chw'en* (1267).' It is related that these characters have been engraved by some Chinese in imitation of inscriptions on stone of those countries; up to the present time, they have not been destroyed." *Hien chw'en* is the *nien hao* of Tu Tsung, one of the last emperors of the Southern Sung Dynasty, not of a Mongol Sovereign. I owe this information to Prof. Pelliot, who adds that the comparison between the Chinese Pagoda of Negapatam and the text of the *Tao yi chi lio* has been made independent of him by Mr. Fujita in the *Tōkyō-gakuhō*, November, 1913, pp. 445-46. (*Cathay*, I., p. 81 n.)

XVII., p. 340. "Here [Maabar] are no horses bred; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses; I will tell you how. You must know that the merchants of Kis and Hormes, Dofar and Soer and Aden collect great numbers of destriers and other horses, and these they bring to the territories of this King and of his four brothers, who are kings likewise as I told you. . . ."

Speaking of Yung (or Wöng) man, Chau Ju-kwa tells us (p. 133): "In the mountains horse-raising is carried on a large scale. The other countries which trade here purchase horses, pearls and dates which they get in exchange for cloves, cardamom seeds and camphor."



XVII., p. 341.

## SUTTEES IN INDIA.

"Suttee is a Brahmanical rite, and there is a Sanskrit ritual in existence (see *Classified Index to the Tanjore MSS.*, p. 135 a.). It was introduced into Southern India with the Brahman civilization, and was prevalent there chiefly in the Brahmanical Kingdom of Vijayanagar, and among the Mahrattas. In Malabar, the most primitive part of S. India, the rite is forbidden (*Anāchāranirṇaya*, v. 26). The cases mentioned by Teixeira, and in the *Lettres édifiantes*, occurred at Tanjore and Madura. A (Mahratta) Brahman at Tanjore told one of the present writers that he had to perform commemorative funeral rites for his grandfather and grandmother on the same day, and this indicated that his grandmother had been a *satī*." YULE, *Hobson-Jobson*. Cf. *Cathay*, II., pp. 139-140.

## MAABAR.

XVII., p. 345. Speaking of this province, Marco Polo says: "They have certain abbeys in which are gods and goddesses to whom many young girls are consecrated; their fathers and mothers presenting them to that idol for which they entertain the greatest devotion. And when the [monks] of a convent desire to make a feast to their god, they send for all those consecrated damsels and make them sing and dance before the idol with great festivity. They also bring meats to feed their idol withal; that is to say, the damsels prepare dishes of meat and other good things and put the food before the idol, and leave it there a good while, and then the damsels all go to their dancing and singing and festivity for about as long as a great Baron might require to eat his dinner. By that time they say the spirit of the idols has consumed the substance of the food, so they remove the viands to be eaten by themselves with great jollity. This is performed by these damsels several times every year until they are married."

Chau Ju-kwa has the following passage in Cambodia (p. 53): "(The people) are devout Buddhists. There are serving (in the temples) some three hundred foreign women; they dance and offer food to the Buddha. They are called *a-nan* or slave dancing-girls."

Hirth and Rockhill, who quote Marco Polo's passage, remark, p. 55 n.: "*A-nan*, as here written, is the usual transcription of the Sanskrit word *ānanda*, 'joy, happiness.' The almeh or dancing-girls are usually called in India *deva-dāsī* ('slave of a god') or *rāmjani*."

In Guzerat, Chau Ju-kwa, p. 92, mentions: "Four thousand Buddhist temple buildings, in which live over twenty thousand dancing-girls who sing twice daily while offering food to the Buddha (*i.e.*, the idols) and while offering flowers."

XVIII., p. 356.

#### TRADITIONS OF ST. THOMAS.

"The traditional site of the Apostle's Tomb, now adjacent to the sea-shore, has recently come to be enclosed in the crypt of the new Cathedral of San Thom  ." (A. E. MEDLYCOTT, *India and the Apostle Thomas. An inquiry. With a critical analysis of the Acta Thom  .* London, David Nutt, 1905, 8vo.)

In the beginning of the sixteenth century Barbosa found the church of St. Thomas half in ruins and grown round with jungle. A Mahomedan fakir kept it and maintained a lamp. Yet in 1504, which is several years earlier than Barbosa's voyage, the Syrian Bishop Jaballaha, who had been sent by the Patriarch to take charge of the Indian Christians, reported that the House of St. Thomas had begun to be inhabited by some Christians, who were engaged in restoring it.

Mr. W. R. Philipps has a valuable paper on *The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India* in the *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII., 1903, pp. 1-15, 145-160; he has come to the following conclusions: "(1) There is good early evidence that St. Thomas was the apostle of the Parthian empire; and also evidence that he was the apostle of 'India' in some limited sense,—probably of an 'India' which included the Indus Valley, but nothing to the east or south of it. (2) According to the Acts, the scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas was in the territory of a king named, according to the Syriac version, Mazdai, to which he had proceeded after a visit to the city of a king named, according to the same version, G  ndaphar or G  ndaphar. (3) There is no evidence at all that the place where St. Thomas was martyred was in Southern India; and all the indications point to another direction. (4) We have no indication whatever, earlier than that given by Marco Polo, who died 1324, that there ever was even a tradition that St. Thomas was buried in Southern India."

In a recent and learned work (*Die Thomas Legende*, 1912, 8vo.) Father J. Dahlmann has tried to prove that the story of the travels of St. Thomas in India has an historical basis. If there is some possibility of admitting a voyage of the Apostle to N.W. India (and the flourishing state of Buddhism in this



part of India is not in favour of Christian Evangelization), it is impossible to accept the theory of the martyrdom of St. Thomas in Southern India.

The late Mr. J. F. FLEET, in his paper on St. Thomas and Gondophernes (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, April, 1905, pp. 223-236), remarks that "Mr. Philipps has given us an exposition of the western traditional statements up to the sixth century." He gives some of the most ancient statements; one in its earliest traceable form runs thus: "According to the Syriac work entitled *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, which was written in perhaps the second century A.D., St. Thomas evangelized 'India.' St. Ephraem the Syrian (born about A.D. 300, died about 378), who spent most of his life at Edessa, in Mesopotamia, states that the Apostle was martyred in 'India,' and that his relics were taken thence to Edessa. That St. Thomas evangelized the Parthians, is stated by Origen (born A.D. 185 or 186, died about 251-254). Eusebius (bishop of Cæsarea Palæstinæ from A.D. 315 to about 340) says the same. And the same statement is made by the Clementine Recognitions, the original of which may have been written about A.D. 210. A fuller tradition is found in the Acts of St. Thomas, which exist in Syriac, Greek, Latin, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Arabic, and in a fragmentary form in Coptic. And this work connects with St. Thomas two eastern kings, whose names appear in the Syriac version as Gūdnaphar, Gundaphar, and Mazdai; and in the Greek version as Goundaphoros, Goundiaphoros, Gountaphoros, and Misdaïos, Misdeos; in the Latin version as Gundaforus, Gundoforus, and Misdeus, Mesdeus, Migdeus; and in the remaining versions in various forms, of the same kind, which need not be particularized here." Mr. Fleet refers to several papers, and among them to one by Prof. Sylvain Lévi, *Saint Thomas, Gondopharès et Mazdeo* (*Journ., As.*, Janv.-Fév., 1897, pp. 27-42), who takes the name Mazdai as a transformation of a Hindū name, made on Iranian soil and under Mazdean influences, and arrived at through the forms Bazodēo, Bazdēo, or Bāzodēo, Bāzdēo, which occur in Greek legends on coins, and to identify the person with the king Vāsudēva of Mathurā, a successor of Kanishka. Mr. Fleet comes to the conclusion that: "No name, save that of Guduphara—Gondophernès, in any way resembling it, is met with in any period of Indian history, save in that of the Takht-i-Bahī inscription of A.D. 46; nor, it may be added, any royal name, save that of Vāsudēva of Mathurā, in any way resembling that of Mazdai. So also, as far as we know or have any reason to suppose, no name like that of Guduphara—



Gondophernēs is to be found anywhere outside India, save in the tradition about St. Thomas."

XVIII., p. 357.

#### CALAMINA.

On this city of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, see *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII., pp. 148 *seq.* in Mr. Philipps' paper, and XXXIII., Jan., 1904, pp. 31-2, a note signed W. R. P.

XIX., p. 361. "In this kingdom [Mutfli] also are made the best and most delicate buckrams, and those of highest price; in sooth they look like tissue of spider's web!"

In Nan p'i (in Malabar) Chau Ju-kwa has (p. 88): "The native products include pearls, foreign cotton-stuff of all colours (*i.e.* coloured chintzes) and *tou-lo mién* (cotton-cloth)." Hirth and Rockhill remark that this cotton-cloth is probably "the buckram which looks like tissue of spider's web" of which Polo speaks, and which Yule says was the famous muslin of Masulipatam. Speaking of Cotton, Chau Ju-kwa (pp. 217-8) writes: "The *ki pe* tree resembles a small mulberry-tree, with a hibiscus-like flower furnishing a floss half an inch and more in length, very much like goose-down, and containing some dozens of seeds. In the south the people remove the seed from the floss by means of iron chopsticks, upon which the floss is taken in the hand and spun without troubling about twisting together the thread. Of the cloth woven therefrom there are several qualities; the most durable and the strongest is called *tou-lo-mién*; the second quality is called *fan-pu* or 'foreign cloth'; the third 'tree cotton' or *mu-mién*; the fourth *ki-pu*. These textures are sometimes dyed in various colours and brightened with strange patterns. The pieces measure up to five or six feet in breadth."

XXI., p. 373.

#### THE CITY OF CAIL.

Prof. E. H. PARKER writes in the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, XXXVII., 1906, p. 196: "Yule's identification of Kayal with the Kolkhoi of Ptolemy is supported by the Sung History, which calls it both Ko-ku-lo and Ku-lo; it was known at the beginning of the tenth century and was visited by several Chinese priests. In 1411 the Ming Dynasty actually called it Ka-i-lêh and mention a chief or king there named Ko-pu-che-ma."

XXII., p. 376. "OF THE KINGDOM OF COILUM.—So also their wine they make from [palm-] sugar; capital drink it is, and very speedily it makes a man drunk."

Chau Ju-kwa in Nan p'i (Malabar) mentions the wine (p. 89): "For wine they use a mixture of honey with cocoanuts and the juice of a flower, which they let ferment." Hirth and Rockhill remark, p. 91, that the Kambojians had a drink which the Chinese called *mi-t'ang tsiu*, to prepare which they used half honey and half water, adding a ferment.

XXII., p. 380 n. "This word [*Sappan*] properly means *Japan*, and seems to have been given to the wood as a supposed product of that region."

"The word *sappan* is not connected with Japan. The earliest records of this word are found in Chinese sources. *Su-fang su-pwan*, to be restored to '*supang* or '*spang*, '*sbang*; *Caesalpinia sappan*, furnishing the sappan wood) is first described as a product of Kiu-chen (Tong King) in the *Nan fang ts'ao mi chuang*, written by Ki Han at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century. J. de Loureiro (*Flora cochinchinensis*, p. 321) observes in regard to this tree, 'Habitat in altis montibus Cochinchinæ: indeque a mercatoribus sinensibus abunde exportatur.' The tree accordingly is indigenous to Indo-China, where the Chinese first made its acquaintance. The Chinese transcription is surely based on a native term then current in Indo-China, and agrees very well with Khmer *sban* (or *sbang*): see AYMONIER et CABATON, *Dict. čam-français*, 510, who give further Čam *hapan*, Batak *sopàn*, Makassar *sappan*, and Malay *sepan*). The word belongs to those which the Mon-Khmer and Malayan languages have anciently in common." (Note of Dr. B. LAUFER.)

XXIV., p. 386, also pp. 391, 440.

#### FANDARAINA.

Prof. E. H. PARKER writes in the *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, XXXVII., 1906, p. 196: "Regarding the Fandaraina country of the Arabs mentioned by Yule in the Notes to pages 386, 391, and 440 of Vol. II., it may be interesting to cite the following important extract from Chapter 94, page 29, of the *Yuän Shih*:—'In 1295 sea-traders

were forbidden to take fine values to trade with the three foreign states of Ma-pa-r, Pei nan, and Fan-ta-la-i-na, but 2,500,000 nominal taels in paper money were set apart for the purpose.' "

XXV., p. 391.

In the *Yuen Shi*, ch. 94, fol. 11 r<sup>o</sup>, the "three barbarian kingdoms of *Ma-pa-eul* (Ma'abar), *Pei-nan* (corr. *Kin-nam*, *Coilam*) and *Fan-ta-la-yi-na*" are mentioned. No doubt the last kingdom refers to the *Fandaraina* of Ibn Batuta, and Prof. Pelliot, who gives me this information, believes it is also, in the middle of the fourteenth century, *Pan-ta-li* of the *Tao yi chi liö*.

#### GOZURAT.

XXV., p. 393. "In this province of Gozurat there grows much pepper, and ginger, and indigo. They have also a great deal of cotton. Their cotton trees are of very great size, growing full six paces high, and attaining to an age of 20 years."

Chau Ju-kwa has, p. 92: "The native products comprise great quantities of indigo, red kino, myrobolans and foreign cotton stuffs of every colour. Every year these goods are transported to the Ta shi countries for sale."

XXXI., p. 404.

#### TWO ISLANDS CALLED MALE AND FEMALE.

Speaking of the fabulous countries of women, Chau Ju-kwa, p. 151, writes: "The women of this country [to the south-east (beyond Sha-hua kung?) Malaysia] conceive by exposing themselves naked to the full force of the south wind, and so give birth to female children."

"In the Western Sea there is also a country of women where only three females go to every five males; the country is governed by a queen, and all the civil offices are in the hands of women, whereas the men perform military duties. Noble women have several males to wait upon them; but the men may not have female attendants. When a woman gives birth to a child, the latter takes its name from the mother. The climate is usually cold. The chase with bow and arrows is their chief occupation. They carry on barter with Ta-t'sin and T'ien-chu, in which they make several hundred per cent. profit."

Cf. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 200-202.



XXXII., pp. 406-7. Speaking of Scotra, Marco (II., p. 406) says : "The ambergris comes from the stomach of the whale, and as it is a great object of trade, the people contrive to take the whales with barbed iron darts, which, once they are fixed in the body, cannot come out again. A long cord is attached to this end, to that a small buoy which floats on the surface, so that when the whale dies they know where to find it. They then draw the body ashore and extract the ambergris from the stomach and the oil from the head."

Chau Ju-kwa, at Chung-li (Somali Coast), has (p. 131) : "Every year there are driven on the coast a great many dead fish measuring two hundred feet in length and twenty feet through the body. The people do not eat the flesh of these fish, but they cut out their brains, marrow, and eyes, from which they get oil, often as much as three hundred odd *töng* (from a single fish). They mix this oil with lime to caulk their boats, and use it also in lamps. The poor people use the ribs of these fish to make rafters, the backbones for door leaves, and they cut off vertebræ to make mortars with."

#### SCOTRA.

XXXII., p. 407. "And you must know that in this island there are the best enchanters in the world. It is true that their Archbishop forbids the practice to the best of his ability; but 'tis all to no purpose, for they insist that their forefathers followed it, and so must they also. I will give you a sample of their enchantments. Thus, if a ship be sailing past with a fair wind and a strong, they will raise a contrary wind and compel her to turn back. In fact they make the wind blow as they list, and produce great tempests and disasters; and other such sorceries they perform, which it will be better to say nothing about in our Book."

Speaking of Chung-li (Somali Coast), Chau Ju-kwa writes, p. 130: "There are many sorcerers among them who are able to change themselves into birds, beasts, or aquatic animals, and by these means keep the ignorant people in a state of terror. If some of them in trading with some foreign ship have a quarrel, the sorcerers pronounce a charm over the ship, so that it can neither go forward nor backward, and they only release the ship when it has settled the dispute. The government has formally forbidden this practice."

Hirth and Rockhill add, p. 132: "Friar Joanno dos Santos (A.D. 1597) says: 'In the Ile of Zanzibar dwelt one Chande, a

great sorcerer, which caused his Pangayo, which the Factor had taken against his will, to stand still as it were in defiance of the Winde, till the Factor had satisfied him, and then to fly forth the River after her fellows at his words. He made that a Portugall which had angered him, could never open his mouth to speake, but a Cocke crowed in his belly, till he had reconciled himselfe : with other like sorceries.'” See PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*, IX., 254.

“Not twenty years ago, Theo. Bent found that the Somalis were afraid of the witchcraft of the natives of Socotra. Theo. BENT, *Southern Arabia*, p. 361.”

XXXIII., p. 412. Speaking of the bird Ruc at Madeigascar, Marco Polo says : “It is so strong that it will seize an elephant in its talons and carry him high into the air, and drop him so that he is smashed to pieces ; having so killed him the bird gryphon swoops down on him and eats him at leisure.”

Chau Ju-kwa writing of K'un lun ts'öng' ki, on the coast of Africa, writes, p. 149 : “This country is in the sea to the south-west. It is adjacent to a large island. There are usually (there, *i.e.*, on the great island) great *p'öng* birds which so mask the sun in their flight that the shade on the sundial is shifted. If the great *p'öng* finds a wild camel it swallows it, and if one should chance to find a *p'öng's* feather, he can make a water-butt of it, after cutting off the hollow quill.”

XXXIII., p. 421.

#### THE RUKH.

The Chinese traveller Chau Ju-kwa in his work *Chu-fan-chi* on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteen centuries, speaking of the country of Pi p'a lo (Berbera), says : “The country brings forth also the (so-called) ‘camel crane,’ which measures from the ground to its crown from six to seven feet. It has wings and can fly, but not to any great height.” The translators and commentators Hirth and Rockhill have (p. 129) the following notes : “Quotation from *Ling-wai-tai-ta*, 3, 6<sup>a</sup>. The ostrich was first made known to the Chinese in the beginning of the second century of our era, when some were brought to the court of China from Parthia. The Chinese then called them *An-si-tsio* ‘Parthian bird.’ See *Hou Han Shu*, 88, and Hirth, *China and Roman Orient*, 39. In the *Wei shu*, 102, 12<sup>b</sup>, no name is given them, they are simply ‘big birds which

resemble a camel, which feed on herbs and flesh and are able to eat fire.' In the *T'ang shu*, 221, 7<sup>a</sup>, it is said that this bird is commonly called 'camel-bird.' It is seven feet high, black of colour, its feet like those of the camel, it can travel three hundred *li* a day, and is able to eat iron. The ostrich is called by the Persians *ushturmurgh* and by the Arabs *teir al-djamal*, both meaning 'camel birds.'"

Dr. Bretschneider in his *Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers to the West* (1875), p. 87, n. 132, has a long note with a figure from the *Pen ts'ao kang mu* on the "camel-bird" (p. 88).

Cf. F. Hirth, *Die Länder des Islam*, Supp. Vol. V. of *T'oung Pao*, 1894, p. 54. Tsuboi Kumazo, *Actes XII<sup>e</sup> Cong. Int. Orient.*, Rome, 1899, II., p. 120.

### XXXIII., p. 421.

#### GIRAFFES.

Speaking of Pi p'a lo (Berbera Coast) Chau Ju-kwa (p. 128) says: "There is also (in this country) a wild animal called *tsu-la*; it resembles a camel in shape, an ox in size, and is of a yellow colour. Its fore legs are five feet long, its hind legs only three feet. Its head is high up and turned upwards. Its skin is an inch thick." Giraffe is the iranised form of the arabic *zurāfa*. Mention is made of giraffes by Chinese authors at Aden and Mekka. Cf. FERRAND, *J. Asiatique*, July-August, 1918, pp. 155-158.

### XXXIV., p. 422.

#### ZANGHIBAR.

We read in the *Tao i chi lio*: "This country [Ts'eng yao lo] is to the south-west of the Ta Shih (Arabs). There are no trees on the coast; most of the land is saline. The arable ground is poor, so there is but little grain of any kind, and they mostly raise yams to take its place.

"If any ship going there to trade carries rice as cargo, it makes very large profits.

"The climate is irregular. In their usages they have the rectitude of olden times.

"Men and women twist up their hair; they wear a short seamless shirt. The occupation of the people is netting birds and beasts for food.

"They boil sea-water to make salt and ferment the juice of the sugar-cane to make spirits. They have a ruler.



"The native products comprise red sandal-wood, dark red sugar-cane, elephants' tusks, ambergris, native gold, *ya tsui tan-fan*, lit., 'duck-bill sulphate of copper.'

"The goods used in trading are ivory boxes, trade silver, coloured satins, and the like." (ROCKHILL, *T'oung Pao*, XVI., 1915, pp. 622-3.) Cf. CHAU JU-KWA, p. 126."

XXXIV., p. 423. "There is a great deal of trade, and many merchants and vessels go thither. But the staple trade of the Island is elephants' teeth, which are very abundant; and they have also much ambergris, as whales are plentiful."

Chau Ju-kwa has, p. 126: "The products of the country [Ts'öng-pa] consist of elephants' tusks, native gold, ambergris and yellow sandal-wood."

XXXVI., p. 438.

#### ADEN.

In the *Ying yai shêng lan* we read that "the kingdom (of A-tan) is on the sea-coast. It is rich and prosperous, the people follow the doctrine of the Moslims and their speech is Arabic. Their tempers are overbearing and violent. They have seven to eight thousand well-trained soldiers, horse and foot, whom the neighbouring countries fear." (W. W. ROCKHILL, *T'oung Pao*, XVI., 1915, p. 607.) There is a description of the giraffe under the name of *K'i lin*; it "has forelegs over nine feet long, its hind ones are about six feet. Beside its ears grow fleshy horns. It has a cow's tail and a deer's body. It eats millet, beans, and flour cakes" (p. 609). In the *Si Yang Chao kung tien lu* (1520 A.D.), we have a similar description: "Its front legs are nine feet long, its hind legs six feet. Its hoofs have three clefts, it has a flat mouth. Two short fleshy horns rise from the back of the top of its head. It has a cow's tail and a deer's body. This animal is called *K'i lin*; it eats grain of any kind." (*Ibid.*) Cf. FERRAND, *J. Asiatique*, July-Aug., 1918, pp. 155-158.

XXXVI., p. 439.

At the time of Chau Ju-kwa, Aden was perhaps the most important port of Arabia for the African and Arabian trade with India and the countries beyond. It seems highly probable that the Ma-li-pa of the Chinese must be understood as including

Aden, of which they make no mention whatsoever, but which was one of "the great commercial centres of the Arabs." HIRTH and ROCKHILL, p. 25 n.

XXXVI., pp. 442 *seq.*

#### THE CITY OF ESHER.

Shehr, a port on the Hadramaut coast, is mentioned by Chau Ju-kwa under the name of *Shī ho* among the dependencies of the country of the Ta-shī (Arabs). (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, p. 116.)

XXXVIII., pp. 444-445.

#### DUFAR.

We read in the *Ying yai shêng lan*: "This country [Tsu fa erh] is between the sea and the mountains. To the east and south is nothing but the sea. To the north and west are ranges of mountains. One reaches it from the kingdom of Ku-li (Calicut) journeying north-westward for ten days and nights. It has no walled towns or villages. The people all follow the religion of the Moslims. Their physical appearance is good, their culture is great, the language sincere.

"The native products are frankincense, which is the sap of a tree. There is also dragon's blood, aloes, myrrh, *an-hsi-hsiang* (benzoin), liquid storax, *muk-pieh-tzŭ* (*Momordica cochinchinensis*), and the like, all of which they exchange for Chinese hempen cloth, silks, and china-ware." (ROCKHILL, *T'oung Pao*, XVI., 1915, pp. 611-612.)

The *Sing ch'a shêng lan* mentions: "The products are the *tsu-la-fa* (giraffe), gold coins, leopards, ostriches, frankincense, ambergris." (*Ibid.*, p. 614.)

Dufar is mentioned by Chau Ju-kwa under the name of Nu-fa among the dependencies of the country of the Ta-shī (Arabs). (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, pp. 116, 121.)

XXXVIII., pp. 445-449.

#### FRANKINCENSE.

Chau Ju-kwa (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, pp. 195-196) tells us: "*Ju hiang* ('milk incense'), or *hün-lu-hiang*, comes from the three Ta-shī countries of Ma-lo-pa, Shī-ho, and Nu-fa, from the depths of the remotest mountain valleys. The tree which yields this drug may, on the whole, be compared to the *sung* (pine). Its trunk is notched with a hatchet, upon which the resin flows out, and when hardened, turns into incense, which is gathered and

made into lumps. It is transported on elephants to the Ta-shi (on the coast); the Ta-shi load it upon their ships for barter against other goods in San-fo-ts'i: and it is for this reason that the incense is commonly collected at San-fo-ts'i [the three ports of the Hadhranaut coast].

"When the foreign merchants come to that place to trade, the Customs authorities, according to the relative strength of its fragrance, distinguish thirteen classes of incense. Of these, the very best is called *kiên-hiang*, or 'picked incense': it is round and of the size of the end of a finger; it is commonly called *ti-ju* or 'dripping milk.' The second quality is called *p'ing ju*, or 'potted milk,' and its colour is inferior to that of the 'picked incense.' The next quality is called *p'ing hiang*, or 'potted incense,' so called, they say, owing to its being prized so much at the time of gathering, that it is placed in pots (*p'ing*). In this *p'ing hiang* (variety of frankincense) there are three grades, superior, medium and inferior. The next quality is called *tai-hiang*, or 'bag incense'; thus called, they say, because at the time of gathering, it is merely put into bags; it is also divided into three qualities, like the *p'ing hiang*.

"The next kind is the *ju-t'a*; it consists of incense mixed with gravel.

"The next kind is the *heï-t'a*, because its colour is black. The next kind is the *shui-shi-heï-t'a*, because it consists of incense which has been 'water damaged,' the aroma turned, and the colour spoiled while on board ship.

"Mixed incense of various qualities and consisting of broken pieces is called *chö-siau* ('cut-up'); when passed through a sieve and made into dust, it is called *ch'an-mo* ('powder'). The above are the various varieties of frankincense."



## BOOK FOURTH.



WARS AMONG THE TARTAR PRINCES AND SOME  
ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES.



## BOOK FOURTH.

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### WARS AMONG THE TARTAR PRINCES AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES.

XXII., p. 488.

#### RUSSIA.

"It seems that Russia [Chinese *A-lo-sz'* = Mongol *Oros* ; the modern Chinese name for Russia is *Wo-lo-sz'*] was unknown to the nations of Eastern Asia before the Mongol period. In the Mongol and Chinese annals the Russians are first mentioned after Subutai's invasion of Southern Russia in 1223. The *Yüan chao pi shi* terms Russia or the Russians *Orus*, as they are called even now by the Mongols. The Chinese of the Mongol period write *A-lo-sz'*, sometimes also *Wa-lo-sz'* or *U-lu-sz'*. All these names evidently render the Mongol appellation *Orus*.

"In the *Yüan shi* Russia is frequently mentioned. . . . I may notice here some other instances where the Russians are spoken of in the *Yüan-shi*. We read in the annals, *s.a.* 1253, that the Emperor Meng k'o (Mangu) ordered Bi-dje Bie-rh-k'o to be sent to *Wu-lo-sz'* in order to take a census of the people.

"It is an interesting fact recorded in the *Yüan shi* that there was in the first half of the fourteenth century a settlement of Russians near Peking. In the annals, chap. XXXIV., *s.a.* 1330, it is stated that the Emperor Wen Tsung (Tob Timur, 1329-32, the great grandson of Kubilai), formed a regiment composed of *U-lo-sz'* or Russians. This regiment being commanded by a *wan hu* (commander of ten thousand of the third degree), received the name 'The Ever-faithful Russian Life-guard.' It was placed under the direct control of the council of war. Farther on in the same chapter it is stated that 140 *king* of land, north of *Ta tu* (Peking) was bought from the peasants and allotted to these Russians, to establish a camp and to form a



military colony. We read again in the same chapter that they were furnished with implements of agriculture, and were bound to present for the imperial table every kind of game, fish, etc., found in the forests, rivers, and lakes of the country where their camp was situated. This Russian regiment is again mentioned in chap. XXXV.

"In chapter XXXVI. it is recorded that in the year 1332 the prince Djang-ghi presented 170 Russian prisoners and received a pecuniary reward. On the same page we read that clothes and corn were bestowed on a thousand Russians. In the same year the prince Yen t'ie-mu-rh presented 1500 Russian prisoners to the Chinese emperor, and another prince, A-rh-ghia-shi-li, presented thirty.

"Finally, in the biography of Bo yen, chap. CXXXVIII, he is stated to have been appointed in 1334 commander of the emperor's life-guard, composed of Mongols, Kipchaks, and Russians." (E. BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediæval Researches*, II., pp. 79-81.)

Prof. Parker (*Asiatic Q. Rev.*, Jan., 1904, p. 148) mentions the appointment of a Russian Governor in 1337, and says: "It was the practice of Princes in the West to send 'presents' of Russian captives. In one case Yen Temur sent as many as 2500 in one batch."

## APPENDICES.





## APPENDICES.

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### LIST OF MSS. OF MARCO POLO'S BOOK SO FAR AS THEY ARE KNOWN.<sup>1</sup>

II., p. 533.

GLASGOW, Hunterian Museum.<sup>2</sup> No. 84, vellum, 4to, Cent. XV.:

1. Guido de Colonna's Destruction of Troy. 2. Julius Valerius' History of Alexander the Great. 3. Archbishop Turpin's Itinerary. 4. Marco Polo.

*Begins* (25, 5 [f. 191 (197)  $\text{r}^{\circ}$ , lines 1-3): ¶ [blue] Incipit liber domini marci Pauli de Venecijs | de condicionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium regionum [rubric] L [small illuminated initial] Ibrum prudentis honorabilis ac fidelissimi domini marci.

*Ends* (33, 3 [f. 253 (259)  $\text{r}^{\circ}$ , lines 8-12): girfalci et herodij qui inde postmodum ad diuersas prouincias | et regiones deferuntur et cetera. ¶ [blue] Explicit liber domini marci Pauli | de Venecijs de diuisionibus et consue- | tudinibus orientalium regionum [Pipino's Version].

5. Frater Odoricus Forojuliensis.

6. Iohannis Mandeville, *De Mirabilibus*.

II., p. 533.

GLASGOW, Hunterian Museum, Cent. XIV.<sup>3</sup> No. 458, vellum, 4to.

1. Marci Pavli Veneti, *De Orientalibus Regionibus*.

*Begins*—after a preface by "Frater Franciscus Pipinus de Bononia" beginning (1, 1  $\text{r}^{\circ}$ , lines 1-4): Incipit liber primus domini marci pauli de venecijs de orien [rubric] | L [gilt historiated initial with gestures forming a floreated border.] Ibrum prudentis talibus regionibus. Prolo [last three words rubric] | honorabilis ac fidelissimi domini gus.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. II., pp. 530 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 89, 90 of *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow planned and begun by the late John Young . . . continued and completed under the direction of the Young Memorial Committee by P. Henderson Aitken. . . . Glasgow, James Maclehose and Sons, 1908, gr. in -4.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Young's *Catalogue*, p. 378.

[last word rubric] | marci pauli de venetijs de conditio | and ending (1, 2 r°, line 3): nostri ihesu christi cunctorum uisibilium et inuisibilium creatoris, after which comes a list of the chapters, titles and numbers (the latter rubricated) which concludes (1, 7 r°, line 1): D (small blue initial with red ornament) e prouincia ruthenorum, xlix.—(1, 7 r°, lines 2–5): Capitulum primum primi libri. Qualiter et quare dominus | nicholaus pauli de venetijs, et dominus marchus [rubric] | T [blue and red illuminated initial with minute spread eagle in centre] Empore quo transierunt ad partes [last three words rubric] | balduinus princeps orientales. [last words rubric.]

Ends (14, 1 r°, lines 26, 27): et diuersas prouincias deferuntur. Explicit liber domini | marci pauli de venetis de diuisionibus et consuetudinibus orientalium.

## 2. Odoric.

### II., p. 534.

PARIS, see No. 18—Bibliothèque Nationale Département des Manuscrits—Livre des Merveilles, Odoric de Pordenone, Mandeville, Hayton, etc.—Reproduction des 265 miniatures du Manuscrit français 2810 de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris, Imprimerie Berthaud frères, 31, rue de Bellefond, 2 vol. in -8.

Marco Polo, Planches, 1–84.

### II., p. 539.

ANTWERP, Museum Plantin-Moretus. Exhibited in Room III., No. 61: *Extraits du Livre de Marco Polo de Venise* et d'un livre sur l'origine de quelques villes belges.

132 leaves; 185 × 270 millimeters, XVth Century. Adorned initials, alternately blue and red. Headings of chapters underlined in red. Leather binding XVIth century, with small flowers de luce; copper clasps and ten nails. On the last leaf, in a running hand: *Este liber partinet Nicholao le buqueteur*; the name of Abraham Vander Veken (Abrā Vander Veque), and the date 1600, 3/22, on the first and on the last but one leaves.

Fol. 2 recto. *Extracta de libro dñi Pauli de Venecijs de diuersis prouincijs et regnis maior[um] et de diuersis moribus habitantiu[m] et de multis mirabilibus in hijs locis et Asijs.* Eleven lines further: *Quomodo iverunt at Berchaman.* Fol. 95 r: *De Sancto Thoma apto ubi jacet et qno mortu(us) est.* Fol. 106 r: *Epilogatio de maiori Yndia.* F. 117 v, last chapter: *De dissentione orta inter Alandū Tartaror[um] et Bcha regem.* Ends, f. 118 r: *Hii tamen reges proximi parentis erant et ambo ex Chinchini imperialis progenie descendentes. Explicit.*

The end of the MS. (f. 118–132) has for object the origin of Belgian villages.

I owe this information to M. J. DENUCÉ.

II., p. 542.

FLORENCE, Riccardian Library, Catalan.

This manuscript has been discovered by Prof. Giovanni VACCA, who has kindly sent me the following information regarding this curious document not mentioned by Yule, Amat di S. Filippo, or Uzielli : MS., 2048 cartac. sec. XV. (?), bearing the following faulty title : *Storia del Catay in lingua spagnuola* ; 66 leaves, the last of which with a note by Piero Vaglianti. Writing is pretty clear, much like that of the Catalan Map of 1375.

The text begins with the description of the city of Lop, and ends with Georgia.

Fol. 65 v : "anaquesta provencia sisfa molta de seda evy ciutatz e viles e castels assaiz e ay moltz bons azcos. Calre no se queus pusca dir er perque fas vos si anaquest libre veus na sra benefit."

Somewhat similar to the end of MS. 2207, Ottob., sec. XIV., membr. of the Vatican Library (reproduced by Amat di S. Filippo) :

"En ycelle province fait on moult de soyt. Et si y a moult de villes, cites et chasteaux, moult bons et beau. Autre chose ne vous en scay dire par quoi je vous fais fins en ce livre."

Generally the text is correct ; one does not find the great errors contained in the Italian text given by Bartoli ; it seems to follow very closely the French text of the Société de Géographie edited in 1824.

Here is a description of the city of Gambalech (fol. 20 r-20 v) reproducing very closely a legend of the Catalan Map of 1375.

"Les vér que costa la ciutat de Camalech avia una grant Ciutat antichament qui avi a nom garimbalu qui vol dir la Ciut del seyor e lo gran cham troba per los strologians que aquesta ciutat se devia revelar contra el axi que feila desabitar a feu fer la ciutat de Sambaleth e axi .|. flum al miq evay fer venir poblar tota la jent que y staba, e ha entorn a questa ciutat de Gambalech. XXIIIIJ. legues e es ben murada e es acayre sique ha de cascun cayre. VI. legues e a dali lo mur XX. paces e es de terre e ha. X. paces de gros e son totz los murs tant blanchs con a neu e a en cascun cayre. IIJ. portes & en cascuna porta ha .|. palau dela semblansa de les. XII. que ditz vos aven e en cascun palau ha de beles cambres e sales plenes darmatures ops da quells qui garden la ciutat los carres son amples e lonchs e ayi que anant de la .|. porta alantre troba hom de bells alberchs e de bels palaus qui son de gran seyors ayi que ela es abitada de bells alberchs E en miss loch de la ciutat a 1. gran palau en que ha '1<sup>n</sup> gran torra enquesta .|. gran seny | sona ho abans axique pus que ha sonat no gosa anar ne gun per la vila si dons gran ops non ha e ab lum e a cascuna porta garden. M. homes no per temensa que nayen mes per honor del seyor e per latres e malfeitos.

"Per gardar la granea del seyor alo poder ell se fa gardar a XIJ<sup>m</sup>.



homes a Caval e ape-lense casitans, qui vol dir leylals cavalers a son seyor a quests. XIJ<sup>m</sup>. homes an. IIIJ. capitans . . .”

The words *underlined* are included almost verbatim in the Catalan Map. Cf. H. CORDIER, *L'Extrême Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan*, p. 14.

The manuscript begins, fol. 1 *recto*: “Aci comensa lo libre de les provincies et de les encontrades que sont sotz la seyoria del gran Emperador del Catay | lo qual ha la seyoria del Gamballech et seyor de los Tartres ayi com ho reconta o messer March Pollo ciutada noble de Venecia. Et primerament diun ay de la provincia de Tangut hon el stech XXVI. anys per saber la veritat de les coses daval scrites.”

Cf. *Un manoscritto inedito dei viaggi di Marco Polo*. Di Giovanni Vacca (*Riv. Geog. Ital.*, XIV., 1907, pp. 107-108).

II., p. 546.

ESCURIAL, Latin, Pipino's (?). See No. 60. This is probably the MS. mentioned by the second Viscount of Santarem, p. 574, in his volume, *Ineditos (Miscellanea)*, Lisboa, 1914, large 8vo: “Un Ms. de Marc Polo du XV<sup>e</sup>. siècle qui est mal indiqué par le titre suivant: *Consuetudines et condiciones orientalium regionum descripto per mestrum Paulum de Venetiis scripto chartis vix saeculo XV. incipiente*, Q -ij-13.”

My late friend, Prof. H. Derenbourg, gives me a few notes regarding this Latin MS., paper, small 4to, ff. 1-95 v; contains 187 chapters with a special title in red ink. Begins: *Librum prudentis honorabilis ac fidelissimi viri Domini Marci Pauli De Venetiis de conditionibus orientalium ab me vulgari edictum et scriptum*.

II., p. 548.

NUREMBERG. Latin MS. containing *Marco Polo, St. Brandan, Mandeville, Odoric, Schildtberger*; bad handwriting. See French edition of Odoric, p. LXXXII.

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## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

XII., pp. 307 *seq.*

Sir Richard C. TEMPLE, has kindly sent me the following valuable notes :—

### ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

#### *General Note.*

Both the Andaman and Nicobar Islands have been very closely studied by Indian Government officials for about fifty years, and they and the people occupying them are now thoroughly understood. There is a considerable literature about them, ethnographical, historical, geographical, and so on.

I have myself been Chief Commissioner, *i.e.*, Administrator, of both groups for the Government of India for ten years, 1894–1903, and went deeply into the subjects connected with them, publishing a good many papers about them in the *Indian Antiquary*, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, and elsewhere. A general survey of all information to that date concerning the islands will be found in the *Census of India*, 1901, vol. III., which I wrote ; in this volume there is an extensive bibliography. I also wrote the Andaman and Nicobar volumes of the Provincial and District *Gazetteers*, published in 1909, in which current information about them was again summarised. The most complete and reliable book on the subject is E. H. MAN'S *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, London, 1883. KLOSS, *Andamans and Nicobars*, 1902, is a good book. GERINI'S *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, 1909, is valuable for the present purpose.

The best books on the Nicobars are MAN'S *Nicobarese Vocabulary*, published in 1888, and MAN'S *Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese Language*, published in 1889. I am still publishing Mr. MAN'S *Dictionary of the South Andaman Language* in the *Indian Antiquary*.

Recent information has so superseded old ideas about both groups of islands that I suggest several of the notes in the 1903 edition of Marco Polo be recast in reference to it.

With reference to the *Census Report* noted above, I may remark that this was the first Census Report ever made on the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and according to the custom of the Government of India, such a report has to summarise all available information under



headings called Descriptive, Ethnography, Languages. Under the heading Descriptive are sub-heads, Geography, Meteorology, Geography, History, so that practically my *Census Report* had to include in a summarised form all the available information there was about the islands at that time. It has a complete index, and I therefore suggest that it should be referred to for any point on which information is required.

### NICOBARS.

P. 307. *No king or chief*.—This is incorrect. They have distinct village communities, governed each by its own chief, with definite rules of property and succession and marriage. See *Census Report*, pp. 214, 212.

Pp. 307–308, Note 1. For Pulo Gomez, see BOWREY, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, Hakluyt Society, p. 287 and footnote 4. Bowrey (c. 1675) calls it Pullo Gomus, and a marine journal of 1675 calls it Polo Gomos.

*Origin of the name Nicobars*.—On this point I quote my paragraph thereon on p. 185, *Census Report*.

“The situation of the Nicobars along the line of a very ancient trade has caused them to be reported by traders and sea-farers through all historical times. Gerini has fixed on Maniola for Car-Nicobar and Agathodaimonos for Great Nicobar as the right ascription of Ptolemy’s island names for this region. This ascription agrees generally with the mediæval editions of Ptolemy. Yule’s guess that Ptolemy’s Barussæ is the Nicobars is corrected by Gerini’s statement that it refers to Nias. In the 1490 edition of Ptolemy, the Satyrorum Insulæ placed to the south-east of the Malay Peninsula, where the Anamba islands east of Singapore, also on the line of the old route to China, really are, have opposite them the remark :—*qui has inhabitant caudas habere dicuntur*—no doubt in confusion with the Nicobars. They are without doubt the Lankhabalus of the *Arab Relations* (851 A.D.), which term may be safely taken as a misapprehension or mistranscription of some form of Nicobar (through Nakkavar, Nankhabar), thus affording the earliest reference to the modern term. But there is an earlier mention of them by I-Tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in his travels, 672 A.D., under the name of the Land of the Naked People (Lo-jen-kuo), and this seems to have been the recognised name for them in China at that time. ‘Land of the Naked’ translates Nakkavaram, the name by which the islands appear in the great Tanjore inscription of 1050. This name reappears in Marco Polo’s Necuveran 1292, in Rashiduddin’s Nakwaram 1300, and in Friar Odoric’s Nicoveran 1322, which are the lineal ancestors of the 15th and 16th Century Portuguese Nacabar and Nicubar and the modern Nicobar. The name has been Nicobar since

at least 1560. The fanciful story of the tails is repeated by the Swede Kjöeping as late as 1647."

Nicobar clearly means the Land of the Naked, but that does not correctly describe the people. I have never seen either a naked man or woman in the Nicobars. The men are nearly naked, but they wear a string round the waist with a very small loincloth. The string is so tied as to leave two long streamers behind, which have very much the appearance of a tail as the man walks along, and no doubt this gave rise to the idea that they were tailed men. The women wear a petticoat coming below the knees, generally red.

The Nicobarese are not savages and live in well-built clean villages, are born traders, and can calculate accurately up to very high figures. They deliberately do not cultivate, because by using their cocoanuts as currency they can buy from Chinese, Malay, Burmese, Indian, and other traders all that they want in the way of food and comforts. They are good gardeners of fruit. They seem to have borne their present characteristics through all historical times.

Pp. 307-308, Note 1.—Nancowry is a native name for two adjacent islands, now known as Camorta and Nankauri, and I do not think it has anything to do with the name Nicobar. For a list of the geographical names of the islands, see *Census Report*, pp. 179-180.

*Race and Dialect.*—The Nicobarese are generally classed as Malays, *i.e.*, they are "Wild Malays," and probably in reality an overflow of Mon tribes from the mainland of the Malay Peninsula (*Census Report*, p. 250). They are a finely built race of people, but they have rendered their faces ugly by the habit of chewing betel with lime until they have destroyed their teeth by incrustations of lime, so that they cannot close their lips properly.

I think it is a mistake to class the Nicobarese as Rakshasas or demons, a term that would apply in Indian parlance more properly to the Andamanese.

The Nicobarese are all one race, including the Shom Pen, for long a mysterious tribe in the centre of Great Nicobar, but now well known. They speak dialects of one language, though the dialects as spoken are mutually unintelligible. There is no Negrito tribe in the Nicobars. A detailed grammar of the language will be found in the *Census Report*, pp. 255-284.

The Nicobarese have long been pirates, and one of the reasons for the occupation of their islands by the Indian Government was to put down the piracy which had become dangerous to general navigation, but which now no longer exists.

P. 309.—The great article of trade is the cocoanut, of which a detailed account will be found in the *Census Report*, pp. 169-174, 219-220, 243. I would suggest the recasting of the remarks on the

products of the Nicobars in your note on p. 309 in view of the statements made in those pages of the Report, bearing in mind that the details of the Nicobar Islands are now practically as well known as those relating to any other part of the East.

P. 312.—The Nicobarese tradition is that they are descended from a man and a dog, but this is only one phase of the ordinary Far Eastern animal-descent story.

The projecting teeth mentioned by Colonel Man are common in the Nicobars in the case of adults only, usually confined to men and women advanced in life. They are not natural, but caused, as stated above, by the excessive use of betel and lime, which forms a dark unsightly incrustation on the teeth and finally destroys them. Children and youth of both sexes have good white normal teeth.

P. 312.

#### NARCONDAM.

Narcondam, an island I know well, has a separate bibliography of its own. It belongs to the Sunda group of volcanoes, but it has been so long extinct that there are no obvious signs now of its ever having been active. It has a species of hornbill which I have captured and shot that has differentiated itself from all others. I do not think, therefore, it can have been recognised as a volcano by mariners in historical times, and consequently the derivation of Narakakundam is to my mind doubtful. The obvious volcano in the neighbourhood is Barren Island, which is still alive.

#### ANDAMANS.

Pp. 309-310, Note 1.—The Andamanese are not an ill-looking race, and are not negroes in any sense, but it is true that they are Negritos in the lowest known state of barbarism, and that they are an isolated race. Reasons for the isolation will be found in the *Census Report*, p. 51, but I should not call their condition, mentally or physically, degraded. The mental characteristics of the race will be found on pp. 59-61 of the *Census Report*, and for your information I here extract from my remarks thereon the section on character.

“In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax, and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor until the English taught him the use of dogs did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count, and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate, and ill-defined.



He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired, and is apt to break down physically under mental training.

"He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child : of very short but strong memory, suspicious of but hospitable to strangers, ungrateful, imitative and watchful of his companions and neighbours, vain, and under the spur of vanity industrious and persevering, teachable up to a quickly reached limit, fond of undefined games and practical jokes, too happy and careless to be affected in temperament by his superstitions, too careless indeed to store water even for a voyage, plucky but not courageous, reckless only from ignorance or from inappreciation of danger, selfish but not without generosity, chivalry or a sense of honour, petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath, and equally quick to forget, affectionate, lively in his movements, and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the weakly or the helpless, and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet ; but when angered, cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations, and not lustful, indecent, or indecently abusive.

"As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful, and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom, not amenable to civilisation, all the teachings of years bestowed upon some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring, and skill though not to an European extent, and the present (1901) dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamanese, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though retaining a deep-rooted and unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

"The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a

considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the 'savagery' in them, however, only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one has herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well-expressed and correctly-spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good 'ayas,' as their menkind make good waiters at table.

"The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jarawa tribe."

P. 310. *The name Andaman.*—To my mind the modern Andaman is the Malay Handuman = Hanuman, representing "monkey" or savage aboriginal antagonist of the Aryans = also the Rakshasa. Individuals of the race, when seen in the streets of Calcutta in 1883, were at once recognised as Rakshasas. It may amuse you to know that the Andamanese returned the compliment, and to them all Orientals are Chauga or Ancestral Ghosts, *i.e.*, demons (see *Census Report*, pp. 44-45 for reasons). I agree with you that Angamanain is an Arabic dual, the Great and the Little Andaman. To a voyager who did not land, the North, Middle, and South Andaman would appear as one great island, whereas the strait separating these three islands from the Little Andaman would be quite distinctly seen.

P. 311. *Cannibalism.*—The charge of cannibalism is entirely untrue. I quote here my paragraph as to how it arose (*Census Report*, p. 48).

"The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves, and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result."

The real reason for the Andamanese taking and killing every stranger that they could was that for centuries the Malays had used the islands as one of their pirate bases, and had made a practice of capturing the inhabitants to sell as slaves in the Peninsula and Siam.

P. 311. *Navigation.*—It is true that they do not quit their own coasts in canoes, and I have always doubted the truth of the assertions that any of them ever found their way to any Nicobar island.

Andamanese men go naked, but the only Andamanese women that I have ever seen entirely naked in their own jungles are of the inland tribe of Jarawas.

R. C. TEMPLE.

*Nov.* 29, 1919.



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